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CATO's LETTERS:

OR,

ESSAYS *on* LIBERTY,

CIVIL and RELIGIOUS,

And other important SUBJECTS.

VOLUME II.

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CATO's LETTERS.

VOL. II.

SATURDAY, *June* 24, 1721. No. 34.

Of Flattery.

SIR,

FLATTERY is a poyſonous and pernicious Weed, which grows and prevails every where, but moſt where it does moſt harm; I mean in Courts. If few dare ſpeak the Truth to their Superiors, how ſhall he who has no Superiors ever come to know the Truth? Perhaps there never was an Inſtance in the World, where a Prince was told the ſincere Truth in

every Thing which concerned him to know, by any Servant of his. Truth is of a plain unalterable Nature, and cannot be moulded into faſhionable Shapes; *Truth* is therefore unfit to be a Courtier: But *Falſhood*, being the Creature of the Imagination, is capable of bearing all modiſh and pleaſing Forms; Falſhood is therefore an agreeable Gueſt in Palaces. To illuſtrate this, endleſs Examples might be brought; but unfortunate Princes are the moſt pregnant Examples. *Galba*, when he had loſt all, and nothing remained to him but his Life, which he was alſo ſoon to loſe, had not one about him to tell him his Condition and Danger; ſo cruelly diſhoneſt were his Servants. Their Flattery prevented the Means of his Preſervation. They therefore were the firſt Murtherers of their Maſter.

Nothing more is neceſſary in order to be flattered, than to be uppermoſt. *Galba* was hated for his Avarice, and deſpiſed for his Age and Severity; yet in Complaiſance to an Emperor, Multitudes of People, and particularly of Senators and Gentlemen, addreſſed him to put *Otho* to death, and to baniſh all his Accomplices: And a Rumour being ſpread, that *Otho* was ſlain, the ſame Sett of Flatterers ran to the Palace with noiſy Congratulations, and deceitfully complained, that Fate had ſnatched the Uſurper from their Vengeance.

What Marks were here of Loyalty to *Galba*'s Perſon, and of Zeal and Firmneſs to his Intereſt; yet in ſo ſmall a Space as two Hours after, *Otho*'s Power having prevailed in *Rome*, *Otho* had their Hearts and their Acclamations in his Turn, and *Galba*'s Death was demanded of him with the

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ſame Importunity, that the Death of *Otho* had been demanded of *Galba*, and by the ſame Men.

A melancholy Leſſon of the vile Fraudulency of Flatterers, and of the Blindneſs of Princes who truſt in them. Even *Galba*, who was thought Proof againſt Flatterers (*adverſus blandientes incorruptus*) was deceived by them.

The Sieur *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, from whom many of theſe Obſervations are taken, ſays truly, that moſt Princes are better armed againſt Fear than againſt Flattery: Terrors animate them, and Threats whet their Courage; but Flattery ſoftens their Minds, and corrupts their Manners; it makes them negligent and idle, and forget their Duty. *Corrupta mens aſſiduis adulationibus*, ſays *Tacitus* of *Domitian*. Beſides, miſtaking Flattery for Complaiſance, (which is a Sign of Affection) they think that thoſe who flatter them love them, and from that Deluſion come to truſt and employ their moſt dangerous Enemies. He further ſays, That *Philip* the Second of *Spain* was wont to interrupt thoſe who went about to flatter him, by ſaying to them roundly, *Ceaſe trifling, and tell me what it concerns me to know:* Words worthy of all Princes, who are never entertained by their Flatterers but with things uſeleſs or pernicious. If Princes never heard any Thing but what they ought to know, they would never hear Flatterers.

Flattery is a falſe and ſelfiſh Thing, begot only by Fear or Favour; and having itſelf only in view, it obſerves no Rule of Equity or Merit, but praiſes and calumniates, juſt according as Men are exalted or depreſſed. *Mezeray* tells us, that as long as *Henry* the Third of *France* built magnificent Monaſteries, and plunged himſelf into

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Monkiſh Devotions, ill-becoming his Dignity, the Monks revered him as a Saint, and called him one: But no ſooner was the religious and ſeditious League formed againſt him, but theſe godly Ingrates loaded him with all the Reproaches and ill Names that they could deviſe; Tyrant, Hypocrite, Murtherer, and Abominable, were the Titles which they gave him; and at laſt they butchered him as a Heretick: So eaſily can Flatterers make one and the ſame Man a God or Devil; and ſo true is it that Flatterers love no Man, and only court the Fortunes of Men. Flattery is venal, and always goes to the beſt Bidder; and it is ſervile, and always crouches moſt to thoſe who are uppermoſt, let them be what they will: *Adulationi fœdum Crimen Servitutis ineſt.* Moſt of the Evil that Princes commit, comes from the Leſſons and Complaiſance of Flatterers, and to ſuch moſt Princes have owed their Ruin: Few Princes would have done what many of them did, if their falſe Friends had not told them that they might do what they would: We have had many Inſtances of this at Home, and there have been more Abroad. It would be a great Advantage to Princes, if they would remember that there never was a Prince in the World but was flattered, and never a Prince but was hurt by Flattery, and many utterly undone by it. It has made good Princes bad, and bad worſe: By Flattery they have been brought to think themſelves more than Men, and to act worſe than Brutes; and, in fine, to live and die as Beaſts of Prey live and die, in Blood. Their Flatterers having made them worſe than Men, adored them like

like Gods: But, as *Pliny* ſays, *Principum exitus docuit ne a diis quidem amari niſi quos homines ament.*

Their Buſineſs is to tell their great Patron what pleaſes him, though it deſtroy him; and when they have deprived him of all his Friends, his Innocence, his Felicity, and his Poſſeſſions, they leave him too; or having ruined his Fortune, they take away his Life, which is their laſt and beſt Civility; for Flattery ends ever in Ingratitude, and often in Treaſon; and for Princes to be often diſtreſſed by thoſe whom they have obliged moſt, is nothing new.

Flattery is always great, in proportion as its Patrons are bad. And therefore *Pliny* obſerves, that thoſe Emperors who were moſt hated, were likewiſe moſt flattered; for he ſays, "That "Diſſimulation is more ingenious and artful than "Sincerity, Slavery than Liberty, Fear than "Love." Hence Flattery is a Sign of Servitude, and inconſiſtent with Equality, and with Liberty, the Offspring of Equality. It is indeed one of the Purpoſes of Flattery to make Men worſe; it gains by Corruption, and lives upon Credulity, Folly, and Vice. It is particularly at perpetual Enmity with Truth; and Flatterers are like Liars, not to be believed even when they ſpeak Truth. I have ſomewhere heard Flatterers compared to Thieves, who break into Houſes by Night; the firſt Thing that they do, is to extinguiſh the Lights: So Flatterers, when they have beſet a Prince, or any other great Man, never fail to keep far from him all Light and Information.

Flattery is cruel, and gives bloody Counſels; and Flatterers are conſtant and mercileſs Calumniators: Every Word which they do not like, is a

Libel; every Action that diſpleaſes them, is Treaſon or Sedition: Where there are no Faults, they create them. The Crimes objected to the honeſt and excellent *Thraſea Petus*, were ſuch as theſe; "That he had never applauded *Nero*, nor encouraged others to applaud him; that when the Senate were running into all the Extravagancies of Flattery, he would not be preſent, and therefore had not been in it for three Years; that he had never ſacrificed for *Nero*'s charming Voice; that he would never own Madam *Poppæa* for a Goddeſs, ſhe who had been *Nero*'s Miſtreſs, and was then his Wife; that he would not vote that a Gentleman who had made Satyrical Verſes upon *Nero* ſhould be put to Death, though he condemned the Man and his Libel; but he contended that no Law made the Offence Capital; that they could not without Scandal, and the Imputation of Cruelty, puniſh with Death, an Offence for which the Laws had already provided a Puniſhment that was milder." Theſe were the honourable and virtuous Crimes of that great and good Man; but they were then High Treaſon, and coſt him his Life. Memorable are the Words of *Philip de Comines*, ſpeaking of Court Flatterers: "If a Sixpenny Tax be to be raiſed, they cry it ought by all Means to be a Twelve-penny one. If the Prince be offended with any Man, they are directly for hanging him. In other Inſtances, they maintain the ſame Character. Above all Things they adviſe their Maſter to make himſelf terrible; as they themſelves are proud, fierce, and over-bearing, in hopes to be dread-

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" ed by that Means, as if Authority and Place " were their Inheritance. "

As all honeſt Truths affect ſuch Men; whatever is ſaid againſt ill Men, they conſtrue to be ſaid againſt them: And even when they are praiſed, they cry they are abuſed, and that ſuch Praiſe is rank Irony. Now all this is very impolitick: Good Men neither fear Libels, nor ſuſpect Applauſes to be Ironies. *Pliny* ſays juſtly to *Trajan*, " When I ſpeak of your Humanity, Liberality, " Frugality, Clemency, Vigilance, *&c.* I have " no Apprehenſion that your Majeſty will think " your ſelf reproached with the contrary Vices. " But it was not ſo in ſome preceding Reigns, when Virtue was dangerous, Truth capital, and every Book that contained either was burnt, and its Author put to Death: By which violent and unjuſt Proceeding, they hoped to ſhut up for ever Peoples Mouths, to aboliſh the Liberty of the Senate, and utterly to extinguiſh the Memories of good Men. Not ſatisfied with killing the Authors, they exerciſed their Rage upon their Works, and appointed a Junto called *Triumviri*, to deſtroy the Fruits of the greateſt Genius's by Fire.

I have ſcarce ever heard of a more groſs or ingenious Piece of Flattery, than that of *Vitellius* to *Caligula*, upon the following Occaſion: That mad Emperor had taken it into his Head to be a God, and thought he might debauch ſome of the She-Deities, as well as he had his Siſters; he therefore asks *Vitellius* this Queſtion, *Pray*, Vitellius, (ſays he) *have you never ſeen me embrace the Moon? O, Sir*, ſays the Paraſite, *that is a Myſtery which none but a God, ſuch as your Majeſty, ought to reveal. Vitellius* was one of thoſe, *quibus Principum*

cipum honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt; who praiſe every thing that their Prince does, whether good or bad. Flattery therefore is never at the Height, till Liberty and Virtue are utterly loſt; and with the Loſs of Liberty, Shame and Honour are loſt. *Tacitus*, who never mentions the Woes of his Country, without ſeeming to feel them, talking of *Sejanus*, who having got the whole Adminiſtration into his Hands, was now the chief Idol at *Rome*, makes *M. Terentius* ſay, with Indignation, "We worſhipped his manumiſed Slaves, "and proſtituted our ſelves to his former Foot-"men; and to be acquainted with his Porter, was "a mighty Honour."

As Flatterers make Tyrants, Tyrants make Flatterers; neither is it poſſible that any Prince could be a Tyrant without them: He muſt have ſervile Hands to execute his Will, ſervile Mouths to approve it. It was with great Fear that *Nero* ordered the Murther of his Mother, though he had wicked Counſellors enough to adviſe and applaud it; and when he had done it, he was thunderſtruck and diſtracted with Apprehenſions of the Conſequences: But finding Flattery from all Hands, inſtead of Reſentment from any, he grew outrageouſly abandoned, and plunged into all Licentiouſneſs and Infamy: Had it not been for Flatterers, the Middle and End of his Reign might have been as good as the Beginning, than which there was ſcarce ever a better.

I have ſaid enough to ſhew the Vileneſs and Miſchief of Flattery; a Vice which has finally ruined many Nations, and many Princes, and one Time or other hurt all. Let us be thankful that we are not at the cruel Mercy of Flatterers, and have

have a Prince who we firmly believe will never be led or perverted by them; we hope that he will never have bad Counſel given him, and would reject it, if it were: We know his honeſt Purpoſes, and great Moderation; and confeſs with Gratitude, that during his whole Reign no Outrages have been committed upon the Lives and Fortunes of any of his Subjects; and that the Protection of the Law has been as ſtrong and extenſive, as ever it was or ought to be. I could ſay more, but I ſtop here; for the greateſt Honour that can be done a Prince, is to ſuppoſe him above Flattery, and to avoid for his Sake the Appearance of it, when we ſpeak to him, or of him.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *July* 1, 1721. No. 35.

Of Publick Spirit.

SIR,

THE Love of one's Country, or *Publick Spirit*, is a Phraſe in every Body's Mouth, but it ſeldom goes deeper; it is talked of without being felt: Some mention it without having any Ideas at all of it, but only as a fine Thing which every body likes, and a good Quality which one would not ſeem to be without.

Others, when they name it, intend only ſome poor and ſelfiſh Gratification of their own: Thus with great Men it is Wealth and Empire, to do what they liſt, and to get what they can; which is direct Faction, or promoting, under Colour of the Publick, thoſe Views which are incon-

conſiſtent with it. Thus with the Trader and Artificer, it is the encouraging only that Sort of Art or Ware in which he himſelf deals; and this is Monopoly and Engroſſing, ever miſchievous to the Publick.

In Popiſh Countries, it is Publick Spirit to build and beautify many Churches, at the Expence of the poor People; who muſt alſo maintain, at a further Expence, a long Band of luxurious Eccleſiaſticks, to play Tricks in them; or, in other Words, to keep the Heads and Pockets of their deluded Hearers as empty as they can. It is moreover great Publick Spirit, to adorn an old Skull with Pearl and Diamonds, and to enrich a venerable rotten Tooth with Gold and Emeralds, of a Value ſufficient to maintain a City and all its Inhabitants, who yet perhaps are ſtarved by doing it. It is likewiſe very publick-ſpirited there, for a Man to ſtarve his Family and his Poſterity, to endow a Monaſtery, and to feed or rather gorge a Fraternity of Reverend Gluttons, profeſſed Foes to Truth and Peace, and to the Proſperity of the World; Idlers, maintained to gormandize and deceive. This, forſooth, is Publick Spirit; to rob the Country of its Hands, to rear up a pernicious and turbulent Mob of Drones, in Principles deſtructive of Liberty, and to bring up Enemies to a Country at its own Charges.

In Arbitrary Countries, it is Publick Spirit to be blind Slaves to the blind Will of the Prince, and to ſlaughter or be ſlaughtered for him at his Pleaſure: But in Proteſtant Free Countries, Publick Spirit is another Thing; it is to combat Force and Deluſion; it is to reconcile the true Intereſts of the Governed and Governors; it is to expoſe Im-

Impoſtors, and to reſiſt Oppreſſors; it is to maintain the People in Liberty, Plenty, Eaſe, and Security.

This is Publick Spirit; which contains in it every laudable Paſſion, and takes in Parents, Kindred, Friends, Neighbours, and every Thing dear to Mankind; it is the higheſt Virtue, and contains in it almoſt all others; Stedfaſtneſs to good Purpoſes, Fidelity to one's Truſt, Reſolution in Difficulties, Defiance of Danger, Contempt of Death, and impartial Benevolence to all Mankind. It is a Paſſion to promote univerſal Good, with perſonal Pain, Loſs, and Peril: It is one Man's Care for Many, and the Concern of every Man for All.

Conſider this Picture, O ye great Patriots and Guardians of the Earth, and try if you reſemble it! Whom have ye exalted for his own Merits, whom caſt down for the Sake of your Country? What Advantages have you acquired to your Nation, with Loſs to yourſelves; and have your People's Loſſes never been your Gains?

Out of *England*, theſe Queſtions cannot well be anſwered; nor could they in *England* formerly.

If my Character of Publick Spirit be thought too Heroick, at leaſt for the living Generation, who are indeed but Babes in that Virtue; I will readily own, that every Man has a Right and a Call to provide for himſelf, to attend upon his own Affairs, and to ſtudy his own Happineſs. All that I contend for is, that this Duty of a Man to himſelf be performed ſubſequently to the general Welfare, and conſiſtently with it. The Affairs of All ſhould be minded preferably to the

Affairs

Affairs of One, as every Man is ready to own when his own Particular is embarked with the Whole; as indeed every Man's will prove to be ſooner or later, though for a while ſome may thrive upon the publick Ruins, but their Fate ſeldom fails to meet them at laſt, them or their Poſterity.

It is a favourable Sign of Publick Spirit, though not a certain Sign, when the Intereſt and Reputation of Men riſe and encreaſe together; and there is Policy and Wiſdom in it. He who acquires Money in ſpight of Fame, pays dear for his Avarice, while it returns him Hatred and Curſes, as well as Gold; and to be rich and deteſted, is to me no pleaſing Character. The ſame holds true in Regard to Ambition, and every other Paſſion, which breaks its Bounds, and makes a Captive of its Owner. It is ſcarce poſſible to be a Rogue and be beloved; and when Men are arrived to an Inſenſibility of popular Cenſure and Opinion concerning their Honeſty and Diſhoneſty, it is a Sign that they are at a Defiance with the Community where they live, and that the reſt ought to be upon their Guard againſt them; they do as it were cut themſelves off from the Society, and teach the People what to call them.

It is true that great ill Men never fail to have great Court paid to their Fortunes; which Court, their own Self-Love always conſtrues to be paid to their Perſons: But there is a Way to undeceive them, and it often happens; let them but ſink into Meanneſs, and they will ſoon find themſelves ſunk into Contempt, which is the End of Hatred when the Object of Hatred diminiſhes.

There

There is a Sort of Men found almoſt every where, who having got a Set of gainful and favourite Speculations, are always ready to ſpread and enforce them, and call their doing ſo *Publick Spirit*, though it often turns the World topſy-turvy: Like the mad Monk at *Heidelberg*, who was for knocking every Man on the Head who did not like *Rheniſh* Wine, which it ſeems was his beloved Liquor; perhaps he thought it was as reaſonable to make all the World ſwallow *Rheniſh*, as to make them ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation.

Opinions, bare Opinions, ſignify no more to the World, than do the ſeveral Taſtes of Men; and all Mankind muſt be made of one Complexion, of one Size, and of one Age, before they can be all made of the ſame Mind. Thoſe Patrons therefore of dry Dreams, who do Miſchief to the World to make it better, are the Peſts and Diſtreſſers of Mankind, and ſhut themſelves out from all Pretence to the Love of their Country: Strange Men! They would force all Men into an abſolute Certainty about abſolute Uncertainties and Contradictions; they would aſcertain Ambiguities, without removing them; and plague and puniſh Men for having but five Senſes.

I would aſſert another Propoſition, as true as the laſt, though it may ſeem ſtranger; namely, That the taking a Thouſand or Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year for the Merit of helping to draw a Hundred Times as much from the People, is not Publick Spirit, whatever Uſe may call it; and to graſp at All, and put a whole Country in two or three Pockets, is a Sort of Publick Spirit, which I hope in God never to ſee, though there have been Nations who have ſorrowfully felt it.

As

As Liberty can never ſubſiſt without Equality, nor Equality be long preſerved without an *Agrarian* Law, or ſomething like it; ſo when Men's Riches are become immeaſureably or ſurprizingly great, a People, who regard their own Security, ought to make a ſtrict Enquiry how they came by them, and oblige them to take down their own Size, for fear of terrifying the Community, or maſtering it. In every Country, and under every Government, particular Men may be too rich.

If the *Romans* had well obſerved the *Agrarian* Law, by which the Extent of every Citizen's Eſtate was aſcertained, ſome Citizens could never have riſen ſo high as they did above others; and conſequently, one Man would never have been ſet above all the reſt, and have eſtabliſhed, as *Cæſar* did at laſt, a Tyranny in that great and glorious State. I have always thought that an Enquiry into Men's Fortunes, eſpecially monſtrous Fortunes raiſed out of the Publick, like *Milton*'s Infernal Palace, as it were in an Inſtant, was of more Importance to a Nation, than ſome other Enquiries which I have heard of.

But, will ſome ſay, is it a Crime to be rich? Yes, certainly, at the publick Expence, or to the Danger of the Publick. A Man may be too rich for a Subject; even the Revenues of Kings may be too large. It is one of the Effects of Arbitrary Power, that the Prince has too much, and the People too little; and ſuch Inequality may be the Cauſe too of Arbitrary Power. It is as aſtoniſhing as it is melancholy, to travel through a whole Country, as one may through many in *Europe*, gaſping under endleſs Impoſts, groaning under Dragoons and Poverty, and all to make a wanton

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and luxurious Court, filled for the moſt, with the worſt and vileſt of all Men. Good God! What Hard-heartedneſs and Barbarity, to ſtarve perhaps half a Province, to make a gay Garden! And yet ſometimes even this groſs Wickedneſs is called Publick Spirit, becauſe forſooth a few Workmen and Labourers are maintained out of the Bread and the Blood of half a Million.

In thoſe Countries, were the Judgment of the People conſulted, Things would go better: But they are deſpiſed, and eſteemed by their Governors happy enough, if they do not eat Graſs; and having no Repreſentatives, or Share in the Government, they have no Remedy. Such indeed is their Miſery, that their Caſe would be greatly mended, if they could change Conditions with the Beaſts of the Field; for then being deſtined to be eaten, they would be better fed: Such a Misfortune is it to them that their Governors are not *Cannibals!* Oh happy *Britain* may'ſt thou continue ever ſo!

For a Concluſion: As the Preſervation of Property is the Source of National Happineſs, whoever violates Property, or leſſens or endangers it, common Senſe ſays, that he is an Enemy to his Country, and publick Spirit ſays, that he ſhould feel its Vengeance. As yet in *England*, we can ſpeak ſuch bold Truths; and we never dread to ſee the Day, when it will be ſafer for one Man to be a Traytor, than for another Man, or for a whole People, to call him ſo. Wherever Publick Spirit is found dangerous, ſhe will ſoon be ſeen dead.

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *July* 8, 1721. No. 36.

Of Loyalty.

SIR,

LOYALTY is a very good Word; but, like moſt others, being wreſted firſt by Deſign, and afterwards by Ignorance and Cuſtom, from its original and virtuous Signification, does now frequently bear a very bad one. In an honeſt Senſe, indeed in common Senſe, it means no more than the ſquaring our Actions by the Rules of good Laws, and an Attachment to a Conſtitution ſupported by ſuch: And the *French* Word *Loyauté*, comes from another *French* Word, which ſignifies *Law*.

Other Meanings have ſince been fathered upon that Word, ſuch as it abhors. To bear ſtupidly the wild or deliberate ill Acts of a Tyrant, overturning all Law, and to aſſiſt him in it, has been impiouſly called *Loyalty*; though it was all the while on the other Side: As it is the very Office and Genius of Loyalty to defend Law, Virtue, and Property, and to pull down as Traytors and Diſloyaliſts, all who aſſault them.

Whoever is lawleſs, is diſloyal; and to boaſt of Loyalty to Diſloyalty, is ſtrange Nonſenſe; a Paradox firſt invented by ſolemn and pernicious Pedants, whoſe Trade it is to pervert the Uſe of Words, and the Meaning of Things, to abuſe and confound the human Underſtanding, and to miſlead the World into Miſery and Darkneſs.

To

To obey a Prince, who does himſelf obey the Laws, is confeſſed on all Hands to be Loyalty: Now, from hence, one would naturally think, that by every Rule of Reaſon, it might be inferred, that to obey one who obeys no Law, is a Departure from all Loyalty, and an Outrage committed upon it; and that both he who commands, and he who obeys, are Outlaws and Diſloyaliſts: And yet theſe ſame ungodly Pedants ſhall maintain it to your Face, that though Loyalty conſiſt in obeying a good Prince, it alſo conſiſts in the very contrary, and in obeying a wicked Prince; who, though he be an Enemy to God, is the Vicegerent of God; and though he commit all Wickedneſs, yet does it by divine Right; and though it be a Sin to obey him, yet it is a damnable Sin to reſiſt him: In ſhort, that all the Inſtruments and Partners of his crying Crimes, are Loyaliſts; and all who defend Law, Virtue, and Mankind againſt ſuch Monſters, are Rebels, and aſſuredly damned for preventing or reſiſting Actions which deſerve Damnation: And thus Men become Rebels, by acting virtuouſly againſt the worſt of all Rebels, who are reſtrained by no Conſideration, human or divine.

Was ever ſuch Impudence, Impiety, and Nonſenſe broached amongſt Pagans? In Truth, they never would have been broached amongſt Chriſtians, had not Sanctity been made a Cloak for thoſe who ſold Godlineſs for Gain, and propagated Impoſture at the Price of all that was virtuous and ſacred.

Diſloyalty is indeed rarely the Crime of Subjects and private Men; and they who charge it moſt upon others, are they who practiſe it moſt them-

themſelves. King *Richard* the Second, and *Edward* the Second, were the greateſt Rebels in *England* in their own Time: The greateſt Rebel in all *Italy*, is the Pope. Every lawleſs Prince is a Rebel, and the Grand Seignior is the greateſt that is or can be in his own Dominions. It is true, he is bound by no written Law; but in this very Thing he is a Rebel: No Man ought to be exempt from the Ties of Laws; and the higher any Man is, the more Ties he ought to be under. All Power ought to be ballanced with equal Reſtraints, elſe it will certainly grow miſchievous: He who knows no Law, but his own Luſt, ſeldom obſerves any other. Beſides, there are ſuch Things as the eternal Laws of Mercy, Juſtice and Truth, legible by every Man's natural Reaſon, when it is not blinded by Craft; and whoever obſerves not theſe, let him be called by what Name he will, is a Rebel to all the World, and it is Loyalty to all the World to purſue him to Deſtruction.

Brutus, who expelled the royal and rebellious Race of the *Tarquins*, was the moſt loyal Man in *Rome*; and his Sons, who would have reſtored them, were the greateſt Rebels in *Rome*: The *Roman* People therefore acted juſtly, when they rewarded the Father with the Chief Magiſtracy; and the Father acted juſtly, when he ſacrificed the Traytors of his own Loins to the Liberties and Reſentments of the *Roman* People.

Some play with the Words *Sovereign* and *Subject*, and divert themſelves with the Ridicule of Obedience reſiſting Command: But their Wit and Reaſoning are alike wretched, whether they proceed

proceed from Ignorance or Diſhoneſty, as they often do from both; as if the World were to be guided by Sound rather than Senſe in Things eſſential to its Well-being. The higheſt and firſt Sovereignty is in the Laws, of which the Prince has only the Sovereign Execution: In other Words, it is his Office and Duty to ſee the Laws obeyed; an Employment, which implies their Superiority and his own Subjection.

A learned Prince, who knew not much of Government, and practiſed leſs than he knew, did yet own, that a *King is only the chief Servant of the State.* The Law ought to be the Meaſure of his Power and Actions, as much as of any private Man's, and more; as his Example is of greater Influence, and as his Opportunities and Temptations to break them are greater than any private Man's can be: And the only juſt Reaſon that can be aſſigned why thoſe Crimes which are puniſhed with Death in a Subject, have been often committed with Impunity by a Chief Magiſtrate, was, becauſe the Station which he was in gave him ſuch Strength, and ſuch a Party, that to have puniſhed him, the Publick Quiet muſt have been riſqued or ſhaken: And as to the inferior great Traytors, the Gain of their Crimes and Partners of their Guilt protected them.

Exalted Wickedneſs is the ſafeſt: I could name an *Engliſh* Reign, in which, for above Twenty Years together, there ſcarce paſſed a Week in which the Prince did not venture his Crown, and his Miniſters forfeit their Heads. And yet not one of theſe Forfeitures were exacted: So corrupt and wicked was the Government, and ſo tame

and

and acquieſcing were the People. Indeed the People in every Country deſerve the beſt Uſage, and in almoſt all meet with the worſt: Their Lot is very hard and unequal: They often pay Millions, not only in their own Wrong, but frequently to ſtrengthen the Hands of their Oppreſſors: And this they generally do, without ſo much as a Tumult; yet for one of them to coin a Silver Sixpence, is Death and Confiſcation.

Theſe Things are obvious; yet how little are they conſidered! It is ſafer for a great Man to rob a Country, than for a poor one to ſteal a Loaf: But the Wages of Villainy protect Villains, and Juſtice is only blind where the Object is naked —— But theſe are only Complaints, which, we hope, we *Britons* will never have Cauſe to make.

We have been formerly ſtunned with the big Word *Prerogative*, by thoſe who contend for Unlimited Loyalty: Men, who while they reſerve to themſelves a Right to be the moſt turbulent of all Subjects, would make all others the tameſt, and the blindeſt of all Slaves. But what Prerogative do they mean? I know no Prerogative in the Crown, which is not at the ſame Time a certain Privilege of the People, for their Sake granted, and for their Sake to be exerted: And where a Prerogative is claimed in Oppoſition to the Rights and Intereſts of the People, ſo far a Tyranny is claimed; Tyranny being nothing elſe but the Government of one Man, or of a few Men, over many, againſt their Inclination and Intereſt: And where Prerogative is exerciſed more to the Hurt than the Good of the Governed, it is no longer Prerogative, but Violence and Uſurpation;

pation; and therefore, in *England* ſeveral Prerogatives have from Time to Time been taken from the Crown, becauſe the Crown had abuſed them.

A certain *Britiſh* King was wont to ſay, *That ſo long as he could make Biſhops and Judges, he would have what Law and Goſpel he pleaſed*—— An impious and arbitrary Saying, and a bold one coming from a Prince of ſo mean a Spirit, governing a brave and a free People, who were diſgraced by his profuſe and ridiculous Reign, which is one of thoſe that ſtain our Annals. But for all the Abſurdity of his Government, and the Smallneſs of his Soul, he found himſelf able, by the Aſſiſtance of Sycophants, to multiply and entail many Evils upon theſe Kingdoms. It is certain, that he and ſome of his Poſterity found ſuch complaiſant Biſhops and Judges, that the Religion and Politicks of the Court were generally the Religion and Politicks of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and of *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel: Abſolute Power in the Crown was pleaded and granted in both thoſe ſolemn Places.

So wicked and mercileſs a Thing is Self-Intereſt! Thoſe grave Men, who were by Profeſſion the Guardians of Truth and Law, gave up both, to keep Preferment, or to acquire it. How little are Men to be truſted, and how little does Religion bind them! They can break the ſtrongeſt Bands, violate the moſt awful Oaths, and commit the moſt horrid, moſt extenſive Treacheries, for the vileſt and moſt uncertain Gratifications. I am therefore ſeldom ſurprized to hear of the moſt aſtoniſhing Things and Events, whether they be publick Depredations and Maſſacres,

ſacres, or private Treacheries and Parricides; having my Mind conſtantly filled with Examples that anſwer them, or exceed them, though perhaps they are not exactly of the ſame Nature.

It is certain, that thoſe Judges, Counſellors, and Clergy, who have adjudged a diſpenſing and lawleſs Power to Kings, had, each of them, the Guilt of a Thouſand private Murtherers upon their Head: They, as it were, ſigned a Dead-Warrant for their Country; and, as much as in them lay, made themſelves the Authors of Univerſal Barbarity, Slavery, Infamy, and Wretchedneſs, and of every other Evil and Wickedneſs which is produced by that great Source of all Evil and Wickedneſs, Arbitrary Power.

Of this we are ſure, that the leaſt Publick Guilt is greater than the greateſt Private Guilt: Let every Man concerned in Publick Truſt, every where, conſider this, and examine his own Heart: Every Step which a publick Man takes, every Speech which he makes, and every Vote which he gives, may affect Millions. Whoever acts in a great Station againſt his Conſcience, might perhaps with more Innocence carry a Dagger, and like *Old Muly* ſtab Twenty Men a Day.

Now were theſe Judges and Counſellors abovementioned, Loyaliſts? Yes, doubtleſs, if there are ſuch Things as Loyal Traytors. For, even ſuppoſing Loyalty centered wholly in the Perſon of the Prince, than which nothing can be more falſe; yet even here it loſes its Name, ſince it is doing him the higheſt Unkindneſs, as it ſeparates him

him from his People, and their Hearts from him, and as it tempts him to Evil, loads him with Infamy and Guilt, and leſſens his Security; in Truth, ſuch Loyalty is Perfidiouſneſs and Flattery, and has coſt many Princes their Lives and their Kingdoms.

No good Prince will pretend that there is any Loyalty due to him further than he himſelf is Loyal to the Law, and obſervant of his People, the Makers of Kings and of Laws. If any Man, miſled by Sound and Deluſion, doubt this, let him conſider what is the Deſign of Magiſtracy, and what the Duty of Magiſtrates; and if he has Reaſon in him, he will find that his Duty is only due to thoſe who perform theirs; That Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal; That every Man has a Right to defend what no Man has a Right to take: That the Divine Right of Kings, if they had it, can only warrant them in doing Actions that are Divine, and cannot protect them in Cruelty, Depredation and Oppreſſion: That a Divine Right to act wickedly, is a Contradiction and Blaſphemy, as it is *Maledictio Supremi Numinis*, a Reproach upon the Deity, as if he gave any Man a Commiſſion to be a Devil: That a King, in Compariſon with the Univerſe, is not ſo much as a Mayor of a Town, in Compariſon with a Kingdom; and that, were Mr. Mayor called *King*, it would give him no new Right; or, if a King were only called Mr. Mayor, it would not leſſen nor abrogate his old Juriſdiction: That they are both Civil Officers, and that an Offence in the Leſſer is more pardonable than an Offence in the Greater: That the Doctrines of unbroken hereditary Right,

and of blind Obedience, are the Flights and Forgeries of Flatterers, who bely Heaven, and abuſe Men, to make their own Court to Power, and that not one of them will ſtand the Tryal himſelf; in fine, that Government, honeſt and legal Government, is *Imperium Legum non Hominum*, the Authority of Law, and not of Luſt.

Theſe are the Principles upon which our Government ſtands, the Principles upon which every free Government muſt ſtand; and that we *Britons* dare tell ſuch Truths, and publiſh ſuch Principles, is a glorious Proof of our Civil and Religious Freedom: They are Truths which every *Briton* ought to know, even Children and Servants: They are eternal Truths, that will remain for ever, though in too many Countries they are dangerous or uſeleſs, or little known: They are Truths, to which we are beholden for the preſent Succeſſion, and the preſent mild Adminiſtration; and they are the Principles of *Engliſh* Loyalty, as well as of *Engliſh* Liberty.

Before I have done, I would take Notice of another Miſtake very common, concerning Loyalty: It is indeed a Trick more than a Miſtake; I mean of thoſe who would aſſert or rather create a Sort of Loyalty to Miniſters, and make every Thing which they do not like, an Offence againſt their Maſter.

How endleſs are the Arts and Inſtances of Deceiving! Yet the ſtaleſt Artifices are ſtill new. The Above is a Method, which bad Miniſters have ever taken, but which good ones want not: Innocent Miniſters will never proſtitute the Name and Authority of the Prince, to protect their own Faults

Faults and Miſtakes; and every wiſe and indifferent Man will be for preſerving him from the Imputation of the Guilt and Folly of his Servants, who, whenever they are for thruſting in their Maſter between themſelves and the Cenſure or Odium of their own Actions, do at once acknowledge that their own Actions are evil, and that they would barbarouſly and ungratefully make a Screen of their Sovereign, and ſave themſelves upon his Ruin or Diſgrace.

What can be more vile, what more diſloyal, than this! Yet who were louder in their Prate about Loyalty, than the worſt Miniſters have ever been; even while they were weakening their Maſter's Hands, creating him Enemies, and ſetting him at Variance with his People? This is ſo true, that it has been ſometimes impoſſible to love the Prince without abhorring his Servants, and to ſerve them without hurting or abuſing him. Yet while they were very loyally undoing him, it was forſooth high Diſloyalty to reſiſt or expoſe them—— Whoever would recollect Inſtances of this, need not go out of *Europe*, nor above Forty Years backwards: And for Inſtances at Home, as we can find no preſent ones, we fear none that are future.

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I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *July* 15, 1721. No. 37.

Character of a Good and of an Evil Magiſtrate, quoted from Algernon Sidney *Eſq;*

SIR,

THE following are the Sentiments of Mr. *Sidney:* I know it is objected that he is a Republican; and it is diſhoneſtly ſuggeſted that I am a Republican, becauſe I commend him as an excellent Writer, and have taken a Paſſage or two out of him. In anſwer to this, I ſhall only take Notice, That the Paſſages which I take from him are not Republican Paſſages, unleſs Virtue and Truth be Republicans: That Mr. *Sidney*'s Book, for the Main of it, is eternally true, and agreeable to our own Conſtitution, which is the beſt Republick in the World, with a Prince at the Head of it: That our Government is a Thouſand Degrees nearer a-kin to a Commonwealth, (any Sort of Commonwealth now ſubſiſting, or that ever did ſubſiſt in the World) than it is to Abſolute Monarchy: That for my ſelf, I hope in God, never to ſee any other Form of Government in *England*, than that which is now in *England*; and that, if this be the Stile and Spirit of a Republican, I glory in it, as much as I deſpiſe thoſe who take baſe Methods to decry my Writings, which are addreſſed to the common Senſe and Experience of Mankind. I hope that it is not yet made Hereſy in Politicks, to aſſert that Two and Two make Four.

" The good Magiſtrate ſeeks the Good of the " People committed to his Care, that he may " perform the End of his Inſtitution; and know- " ing That chiefly to conſiſt in Juſtice and Vir- " tue, he endeavours to plant and propagate them; " and by doing this, he procures his own Good, " as well as that of the Publick. He knows " there is no Safety where there is no Strength, " no Strength without Union, no Union with- " out Juſtice, no Juſtice where Faith and Truth " in accompliſhing publick and private Engage- " ments, is wanting. This he perpetually in- " culcates; and thinks it a great Part of his Du- " ty, by Precept and Example, to educate the " Youth in a Love of Virtue and Truth, that " they may be ſeaſoned with them, and filled " with an Abhorrence of Vice and Falſhood, " before they attain that Age which is expoſed " to the moſt violent Temptations, and in which " they may by their Crimes bring the greateſt " Miſchiefs upon the Publick. He would do all " this, though it were to his own Prejudice. But " as good Actions always carry a Reward with " them, theſe contribute in a high Meaſure to " his Advantage. By preferring the Intereſt of " the People before his own, he gains their Af- " fection, and all that is in their Power comes " with it; while he unites them to one another, " he unites all to himſelf: In leading them to " Virtue, he encreaſes their Strength, and by " that Means provides for his own Safety, Glory, " and Power.

" On the other Side, ſuch as ſeek different " Ends muſt take different Ways. When a Ma- " giſtrate fancies he is not made for the People,

" but the People for him; that he does not go-
" vern for them, but for himſelf; that the Peo-
" ple live only to encreaſe his Glory, or to fur-
" niſh Matter for his Pleaſure; he does not en-
" quire what he may do for them, but what he
" may draw from them: By this Means he ſets
" up an Intereſt of Profit, Pleaſure, or Pomp in
" himſelf, repugnant to the Good of the Publick,
" for which he is made to be what he is. Theſe
" contrary Ends certainly divide the Nation into
" Parties; and while every one endeavours to ad-
" vance that to which he is addicted, Occaſions of
" Hatred, for Injuries every Day done, or thought
" to be done, and received, muſt neceſſarily a-
" riſe. This creates a moſt fierce and irrecon-
" cileable Enmity; becauſe the Occaſions are
" frequent, important, and univerſal, and the
" Cauſes thought to be moſt juſt. The People
" think it to be the greateſt of all Crimes to con-
" vert that Power to their Hurt, which was in-
" ſtituted for their Good; and that the Injuſtice
" is aggravated by Perjury and Ingratitude, which
" comprehend all Manner of Ill; and the Ma-
" giſtrate gives the Name of Sedition and Rebel-
" lion to whatſoever they do for the Preſervation
" of themſelves and their own Rights. When
" Men's Spirits are thus prepared, a ſmall Matter
" ſets them on fire; but if no Accident happens
" to blow them into a Flame, the Courſe of Juſ-
" tice is certainly interrupted, the publick Affairs
" are neglected; and when any Occaſion, whe-
" ther Foreign or Domeſtick, ariſes, in which
" the Magiſtrate ſtands in need of the People's
" Aſſiſtance, they whoſe Affections are alienated,
" not only ſhew an Unwillingneſs to ſerve him

" with

" with their Perſons and Eſtates, but fear that
" by delivering him from his Diſtreſs they
" ſtrengthen their Enemy, and enable him to op-
" preſs them; and he, fancying his Will to be
" unjuſtly oppoſed, or his Due more unjuſtly de-
" nied, is filled with a Diſlike of what he ſees,
" and a Fear of worſe for the future. Whilſt
" he endeavours to eaſe himſelf of the one, and
" to provide againſt the other, he uſually encrea-
" ſes the Evils of both; and Jealouſies are on
" both Sides multiplied. Every Man knows that
" the Governed are in a great Meaſure under the
" Power of the Governor; but as no Man or
" Number of Men is willingly ſubject to thoſe
" that ſeek their Ruin, ſuch as fall into ſo great
" a Misfortune, continue no longer under it, than
" Force, Fear, or Neceſſity may be able to oblige
" them. But ſuch a Neceſſity can hardly lie
" longer upon a great People, than till the Evil
" be fully diſcovered and comprehended, and
" their Virtue, Strength, and Power be united
" to expel it: The ill Magiſtrate looks upon all
" Things that may conduce to that End, as ſo
" many Preparatives to his Ruin; and by the
" Help of thoſe who are of his Party, will en-
" deavour to prevent that Union, and diminiſh
" that Strength, Virtue, Power, and Courage,
" which he knows to be bent againſt him. And
" as Truth, faithful Dealing, and Integrity of
" Manners, are Bonds of Union, and Helps to
" Good, he will always, by Tricks, Artifices,
" Cavils, and all Means poſſible, endeavour to
" eſtabliſh Falſhood and Diſhoneſty; whilſt other
" Emiſſaries and Inſtruments of Iniquity, by cor-
" rupting the Youth, and ſuch as can be brought

" to Lewdneſs and Debauchery, bring the Peo-
" ple to ſuch a paſs, that they may neither care
" nor dare to vindicate their Rights; and that
" thoſe who would do it may ſo far ſuſpect each
" other, as not to confer upon, much leſs to join
" in, any Action tending to the publick Deli-
" verance.

" This diſtinguiſhes the good from the bad
" Magiſtrate, the Faithful from the Unfaithful;
" and thoſe that adhere to either, living in the
" ſame Principle, muſt walk in the ſame Ways.
" They who uphold the rightful Power of a juſt
" Magiſtracy, encourage Virtue and Juſtice, and
" teach Men what they ought to do, ſuffer, or
" expect from others; they fix them upon Prin-
" ciples of Honeſty, and generally advance every
" thing that tends to the Encreaſe of the Valour,
" Strength, Greatneſs, and Happineſs of the Na-
" tion, creating a good Union among them,
" and bringing every Man to an exact Under-
" ſtanding of his own and the publick Rights.
" On the other ſide, he that would introduce an
" ill Magiſtrate, make one evil who was good,
" or preſerve him in the Adminiſtration of In-
" juſtice when he is corrupted, muſt always open
" the Way for him by vitiating the People, cor-
" rupting their Manners, deſtroying the Validity
" of Oaths, teaching ſuch Evaſions, Equivoca-
" tions, and Frauds, as are inconſiſtent with the
" Thoughts that become Men of Virtue and
" Courage; and overthrowing the Confidence
" they ought to have in each other, make it im-
" poſſible for them to unite amongſt themſelves.
" The like Arts muſt be uſed with the Magiſtrate:
" He cannot be for their Turns, till he is per-

" ſwaded

" ſwaded to believe he has no Dependence upon,
" and owes no Duty to the People; that he is of
" himſelf, and not by their Inſtitution; that no
" Man ought to enquire into, nor be Judge of
" his Actions; that all Obedience is due to him,
" whether he be good or bad, wiſe or fooliſh, a
" Father or an Enemy to his Country. This
" being calculated for his perſonal Intereſt, he
" muſt purſue the ſame Deſigns, or his Kingdom
" is divided within in it ſelf, and cannot ſubſiſt.
" By this Means, thoſe who flatter his Humour,
" come to be accounted his Friends, and the only
" Men that are thought worthy of great Truſts;
" while ſuch as are of another Mind are expoſed
" to all Perſecution. Theſe are always ſuch as
" excell in Virtue, Wiſdom, and Greatneſs of
" Spirit: They have Eyes, and they will always
" ſee the Way they go; and leaving Fools to be
" guided by implicit Faith, will diſtinguiſh be-
" tween Good and Evil, and chuſe that which is
" beſt; they will judge of Men by their Actions,
" and by them diſcovering whoſe Servant every
" Man is, know whether he is to be obeyed or
" not. Thoſe who are ignorant of all Good,
" careleſs, or Enemies to it, take a more com-
" pendious Way: Their ſlaviſh, vicious, and baſe
" Natures inclining them to ſeek only private and
" preſent Advantage, they eaſily ſlide into a blind
" Dependence upon one who has Wealth and
" Power; and deſiring only to know his Will,
" care not what Injuſtice they do, if they may
" be rewarded. They worſhip what they find
" in the Temple, though it be the vileſt of Idols;
" and always like that beſt which is worſt, be-
" cauſe it agrees with their Inclinations and Prin-

" ciples. When a Party comes to be erected up-
" on ſuch a Foundation, Debauchery, Lewdneſs,
" and Diſhoneſty are the true Badges of it; ſuch
" as wear them are cheriſhed; but the principal
" Marks of Favour are reſerved for them who
" are the moſt induſtrious in Miſchief, either by
" ſeducing the People with the Allurements of
" ſenſual Pleaſures, or corrupting their Under-
" ſtandings with falſe and ſlaviſh Doctrines."

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *July* 22. 1721. No. 38.

The Right and Capacity of the People to judge of Government.

SIR,

THE World has, from Time to Time, been led into ſuch a long Maze of Miſtakes, by thoſe who gained by deceiving, that whoever would inſtruct Mankind, muſt begin with removing their Errors; and if they were every where honeſtly apprized of Truth, and reſtored to their Senſes, there would not remain one Nation of Bigots or Slaves under the Sun: A Happineſs always to be wiſhed, but never expected.

In moſt Parts of the Earth, there is neither Light nor Liberty; and even in the beſt Parts of it, they are but little encouraged and coldly maintained, there being, in all Places, many engaged through Intereſt in a perpetual Conſpiracy againſt them.

them. They are the two greateſt Civil Bleſſings, inſeparable in their Intereſts, and the mutual Support of each other; and whoever would deſtroy one of them, muſt deſtroy both: Hence it is, that we every where find Tyranny and Impoſture, Ignorance and Slavery joined together, and Oppreſſors and Deceivers mutually aiding and paying conſtant Court to each other. Wherever Truth is dangerous, Liberty is precarious.

Of all the Sciences that I know in the World, that of Government concerns us moſt, and is the eaſieſt to be known, and yet is the leaſt underſtood. Moſt of thoſe who manage it, would make the lower World believe that there is I know not what Difficulty and Myſtery in it, far above vulgar Underſtandings; which Proceeding of theirs is direct Craft and Impoſture: Every Ploughman knows a good Government from a bad one, from the Effects of it; he knows whether the Fruits of his Labour be his own, and whether he enjoy them in Peace and Security: And if he do not know the Principles of Government, it is for want of Thinking and Enquiry, for they lie open to common Senſe; but People are generally taught not to think of them at all, or to think wrong of them.

What is Government, but a Truſt committed by All, or the Moſt, to One or a Few, who are to attend upon the Affairs of All, that every one may, with the more Security, attend upon his own? A great and honourable Truſt; but too ſeldom honourably executed: Thoſe who poſſeſs it having it often more at Heart to encreaſe their Power than to make it uſeful, and to be terrible rather than beneficent. It is therefore a Truſt, which ought to be bounded with many and ſtrong Reſtraints,

Reſtraints, becauſe Power renders Men wanton, inſolent to others, and fond of themſelves. Every Violation therefore of this Truſt, where ſuch Violation is conſiderable, ought to meet with proportionable Puniſhment; and the ſmalleſt Violation of it ought to meet with ſome, becauſe Indulgence to the leaſt Faults of Magiſtrates, may be Cruelty to a whole People.

Honeſty, Diligence, and plain Senſe are the only Talents neceſſary for the executing of this Truſt, and the publick Good is its only End: As to Refinements and Fineſſes, they are often only the falſe Appearances of Wiſdom and Parts, and oftener Tricks to hide Guilt and Emptineſs; and they are generally mean and diſhoneſt; they are the Arts of Jobbers in Politicks, who playing their own Game under the publick Cover, ſubſiſt upon poor Shifts and Expedients; ſtarved Politicians, who live from Hand to Mouth, from Day to Day, and following the little Views of Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, and the like perſonal Paſſions, are aſhamed to avow them, yet want Souls great enough to forſake them; ſmall wicked Stateſmen, who make a private Market of the Publick, and deceive it in order to ſell it.

Theſe are the poor Parts which great and good Governors ſcorn to play, and cannot play; their Deſigns, like their Stations, being purely publick, are open and undiſguiſed. They do not conſider their People as their Prey, nor lie in Ambuſh for their Subjects; nor dread, and treat and ſurprize them like Enemies, as all ill Magiſtrates do; who are not Governors but Jaylors and Spunges, who chain them and ſqueeze them, and yet take it very ill if they do but murmur, which is yet much leſs than

than a People ſo abuſed ought to do. There have been Times and Countries, when publick Miniſters and publick Enemies have been the ſame individual Men. What a melancholy Reflection is this, that the moſt terrible and miſchievous Foes to a Nation ſhould be its own Magiſtrates! And yet in every enſlaved Country, which is almoſt every Country, this is their woful Caſe.

Honeſty and Plainneſs go always together, and the Makers and Multipliers of Myſteries, in the political Way, are ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected of dark Deſigns. *Cincinnatus* was taken from the Plough to ſave and defend the *Roman* State; an Office which he executed honeſtly and ſucceſsfully, without the Grimace and Gains of a Stateſman. Nor did he afterwards continue obſtinately at the Head of Affairs, to form a Party, raiſe a Fortune, and ſettle himſelf in Power: As he came into it with univerſal Conſent, he reſigned it with univerſal Applauſe.

It ſeems that Government was not in thoſe Days become a Trade, at leaſt a gainful Trade — Honeſt *Cincinnatus* was but a Farmer: And happy had it been for the *Romans*, if, when they were enſlaved, they could have taken the Adminiſtration out of the Hands of the Emperors, and their refined Politicians, and committed it to ſuch Farmers, or any Farmers. It is certain, that many of their Imperial Governors acted more ridiculouſly than a Board of Ploughmen would have done, and more barbarouſly than a Club of Butchers could have done.

But ſome have ſaid, *It is not the Buſineſs of private Men to meddle with Government.* A bold, falſe, and diſhoneſt Saying; and whoever ſays it, either knows

knows not what he ſays, or cares not, or ſlaviſhly ſpeaks the Senſe of others. It is a Cant now almoſt forgot in *England*, and which never prevailed but when Liberty and the Conſtitution were attacked, and never can prevail but upon the like Occaſion.

It is a Vexation to be obliged to anſwer Nonſenſe, and confute Abſurdities: But ſince it is and has been the great Deſign of this Paper to maintain and explain the glorious Principles of Liberty, and to expoſe the Arts of thoſe who would darken or deſtroy them; I ſhall here particularly ſhew the Wickedneſs and Stupidity of the above Saying; which is fit to come from no Mouth but that of a Tyrant, or a Slave, and can never be heard by any Man of an honeſt and free Soul, without Horror and Indignation: It is, in ſhort, a Saying, which ought to render the Man who utters it for ever incapable of Place or Credit in a free Country, as it ſhews the Malignity of his Heart, and the Baſeneſs of his Nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a Doom upon our Conſtitution —— A Crime, or rather a Complication of Crimes, for which a laſting Infamy ought to be but Part of the Puniſhment.

But to the Falſhood of the Thing: Publick Truths ought never to be kept Secrets; and they who do it, are guilty of a Solæciſm, and a Contradiction: Every Man ought to know what it concerns All to know. Now, nothing upon Earth is of a more univerſal Nature than Government; and every private Man upon Earth has a Concern in it, becauſe in it is concerned, and nearly and immediately concerned, his Virtue, his Property, and the Security of his Perſon: And where all theſe

theſe are beſt preſerved and advanced, the Government is beſt adminiſtred; and where they are not, the Government is impotent, wicked, or unfortunate; and where the Government is ſo, the People will be ſo, there being always and every where a certain Sympathy and Analogy between the Nature of the Goverment and the Nature of the People. This holds true in every Inſtance. Publick Men are the Patterns of private; and the Virtues and Vices of the Governors become quickly the Virtues and Vices of the Governed.

Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

Nor is it Example alone that does it. Ill Governments, ſubſiſting by Vice and Rapine, are jealous of private Virtue, and Enemies to private Property. *Opes pro Crimine; & ob Virtutes certiſſimum Exitium.* They muſt be wicked and miſchievous to be what they are; nor are they ſecure while any Thing good or valuable is ſecure. Hence it is, that to drain, worry, and debauch their Subjects, are the ſteddy Maxims of their Politicks, their favourite Arts of Reigning. In this wretched Situation, the People, to be ſafe, muſt be poor and lewd: There will be but little Induſtry, where Property is precarious; ſmall Honeſty, where Virtue is dangerous.

Profuſeneſs or Frugality, and the like Virtues or Vices, which affect the Publick, will be practiſed in the City, if they be practiſed in the Court; and in the Country, if they be in the City. Even *Nero* (that Royal Monſter in Man's Shape) was adored by the common Herd at *Rome*, as much as he was flattered by the Great; and both the Little and the Great admired, or pretended to admire

mire his Manners, and many to imitate them. *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe ſort of People long lamented him, and rejoiced in the Choice of a Succeſſor that reſembled him, even the profligate *Otho*.

Good Government does, on the contrary, produce great Virtue, much Happineſs, and many People. *Greece* and *Italy*, while they continued free, were each of them, for the Number of Inhabitants, like one continued City; for Virtue, Knowledge, and great Men, they were the Standards of the World; and that Age and Country that could come neareſt to them, has ever ſince been reckoned the happieſt. Their Government, their Free Government, was the Root of all theſe Advantages, and of all this Felicity and Renown; and in theſe great and fortunate States, the People were the Principals in the Government; Laws were made by their Judgment and Authority, and by their Voice and Commands were Magiſtrates created and condemned. The City of *Rome* could conquer the World; nor could the great *Perſian* Monarch, the greateſt then upon Earth, ſtand before the Face of one *Greek* City.

But what are *Greece* and *Italy* now? *Rome* has in it a Herd of pampered Monks, and a few ſtarving Lay Inhabitants; the *Campania* of *Rome*, the fineſt Spot of Earth in *Europe*, is a Deſart. And for the modern *Greeks*, they are a few abject contemptible Slaves, kept under Ignorance, Chains, and Vileneſs, by the *Turkiſh* Monarch, who keeps a great Part of the Globe intenſely miſerable, that he may ſeem great without being ſo.

Such is the Difference between one Government and another, and of ſuch important Concernment

cernment is the Nature and Adminiſtration of Government to a People. And to ſay that private Men have nothing to do with Government, is to ſay that private Men have nothing to do with their own Happineſs and Miſery.

What is the Publick, but the collective Body of private Men, as every private Man is a Member of the Publick? And as the Whole ought to be concerned for the Preſervation of every private Individual, it is the Duty of every Individual to be concerned for the Whole, in which himſelf is included.

One Man, or a few Men, have often pretended the Publick, and meant themſelves, and conſulted their own perſonal Intereſt, in Inſtances eſſential to its Well-being; but the whole People, by conſulting their own Intereſt, conſult the Publick, and act for the Publick by acting for themſelves: This is particularly the Spirit of our Conſtitution, in which the whole Nation is repreſented; and our Records afford Inſtances, where the Houſe of Commons have declined entering upon a Queſtion of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and conſulted their Principals, the People: So far were they from thinking that private Men had no Right to meddle with Government. In Truth, our whole worldly Happineſs and Miſery (abating for Accidents and Diſeaſes) are owing to the Order and Miſmanagement of Government; and he who ſays that private Men have no Concern with Government, does wiſely and modeſtly tell us, that Men have no Concern in that which concerns them moſt; it is ſaying that People ought not to concern themſelves whether they be naked or clothed,

clothed, fed or ſtarved, deceived or inſtructed, and whether they be protected or deſtroyed:. What Nonſenſe and Servitude in a free and wiſe Nation!

For myſelf, who have thought pretty much of theſe Matters, I am of Opinion, that a whole Nation are like to be as much attached to themſelves, as one Man or a few Men are like to be, who may by many Means be detached from the Intereſt of a Nation. It is certain that one Man, and ſeveral Men, may be bribed into an Intereſt oppoſite to that of the Publick; but it is as certain that a whole Country can never find an Equivalent for itſelf, and conſequently a whole Country can never be bribed. It is the eternal Intereſt of every Nation that their Government ſhould be good; but they who direct it, frequently reaſon a contrary Way, and find their own Account in Plunder and Oppreſſion; and while the publick Voice is pretended to be declared, by one or a few, for vile and private Ends, the Publick know nothing what is done, till they feel the terrible Effects of it.

By the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement at the *Revolution*, a Right is aſſerted to the People of applying to the King and to the Parliament by Petition and Addreſs, for a Redreſs of publick Grievances and Miſmanagements, when ſuch there are, of which They are left to judge: And the Difference between free and enſlaved Countries lies principally here, that in the former, their Magiſtrates muſt conſult the Voice and Intereſt of the People; but in the latter, the private Will, Intereſt, and Pleaſure of the Governors, are

are the ſole End and Motives of their Adminiſtration.

Such is the Difference between *England* and *Turky*; which Difference, they who ſay that private Men have no Right to concern themſelves with Government, would abſolutely deſtroy; they would convert Magiſtrates into Baſhaws, and introduce Popery into Politicks. The late Revolution ſtands upon the very oppoſite Maxim; and that any Man dares to contradict it ſince the *Revolution*, would be amazing, did we not know that there are, in every Country, Hirelings who would betray it for a Sop.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *July* 29, 1721. No. 39.

Of the Paſſions; that they are all alike good or all alike evil, according as they are applied.

SIR,

NOthing is more provoking than to hear Men talk magiſterially, and with an Aire of Teaching, about Things which they do not underſtand, or which they have an Intereſt to have underſtood wrong. We have, all of us, heard much of the Duty of ſubduing our Appetites, and extinguiſhing our Paſſions, from Men, who by theſe Phraſes ſhewed at once their Ignorance of human Nature, and yet that they aimed at an Abſolute Dominion over it.

Wrong

Wrong Heads and knaviſh Deſigns are frequently found together; and Creatures that you would not truſt with laying out Ten Shillings for you in an Inſtance where you truſt to your own Underſtanding, ſhall ſometimes, by the meer Sound of their Voice, and an unmeaning Diſtinction, make themſelves Maſters of your Mind and your Fortune. It is by truſting to theſe that Men come to know ſo little of themſelves, and to be ſo much the Prey of others as ignorant and more diſhoneſt. I know no Man ſo fit as himſelf to rule himſelf, in Things which purely concern himſelf. How happy would this plain Rule make the World, if they could be brought to obſerve it, and to remember that Brown is as virtuous a Colour as Black; that the Almighty poſſeſſes alike every Quarter of the World; and that in his ſight Fiſh and Fleſh in point of Merit and Innocence are the ſame: Theſe Things are ſelf-evident, and yet the Miſery of Mankind is in a great Meaſure owing to their Ignorance of them.

The ancient *Stoicks* had many admirable and virtuous Precepts, but their Philoſophy was too rigid to be very popular; they taught Men an abſolute Indifference for ſenſual Pain and Pleaſure; but in this, their Doctrine was neither uſeful nor practicable. Men were not to be thus dealt with; they could not ceaſe to be Men, nor change Nature for Philoſophy. Beſides, theſe Teachers being *Pagans*, and arguing only from the Topicks of Wiſdom ſtrained too high, had no Equivalent to offer to their Diſciples for parting with their Appetites and their Senſes. But when ſome of their Sophiſts came into Chriſtianity, and brought along with them the ſevere Notions of their Sect, they

they ſpread and recommended the ſame with more Succeſs, by tacking to theſe their Opinions the Rewards and Terrors of the World to come, which had nothing to do with them: However, they ſaid that it had, and quickly found Credit enough to make it dangerous to contradict them.

Theſe favourite Dreams of theirs, added to ſome Sayings and Paſſages of the Goſpel, ill underſtood, were vehemently urged, as if they had been ſo many certain Paſſports to Paradiſe; and ſoon turned Mens Brains, and made them really fond of Poverty, Hardſhips, and Miſery, and even of Death itſelf: Enthuſiaſm conquered Reaſon, and inflamed Nature; and Men, to be devout, grew diſtracted.

This came of ſtifling the Paſſions and ſubduing Nature, as the Phraſe was. But the Folly and Miſchief of this Doctrine thus extravagantly puſhed, were not greater than its Falſhood: For, as there is no ſuch Thing as departing from Nature, without departing from Life, it is certain that they who were remarkable for reſtraining ſome of their Appetites, were as remarkable for indulging others; ſo that their boaſted Mortification was no more than the Exchange of one Paſſion for another, and often of a better for a worſe. Thus there are many Saints in the *Romiſh* Calendar, who practiſed a religious Abſtinence from all ſorts of Fleſh living or dead, and yet made it the Duty of their Profeſſion, and the Buſineſs of their Lives, to ſtir up Diſſention and War amongſt Men, and to promote Slaughter and Deſolation: They abſtained from Women, and yet were the Authors of infinite Rapes and Adulteries: Their gentle and ſanctified Souls would not allow them to kill, much leſs to

eat

eat any part of an Animal made to be killed and eaten; but they avowedly and piouſly preached up human and Chriſtian Butcheries, and have ſmiled over the Carcaſes of a Nation maſſacred at their Inſtigation.

It is the Weakneſs and Misfortune of human Race, that a Man, by the Means of one Virtue, or the Appearance of it, is often able to do a Thouſand Miſchiefs; and it is the Quality of human Nature, that when any one of its Appetites is violently reſtrained, others break out into proportionable Exceſſes. Thus Men grow raſh and precipitate, by trampling upon Caution and Fear; and thus they become Cowards, by ſtifling the Love of Glory: Whereas, if the Appetite for Danger were checked by the Appetite of Self-Preſervation, and the lazy Love of Safety by the Love of Fame, Raſhneſs and Cowardice would be no more.

It is the higheſt Stupidity to talk of ſubduing the Paſſions, in the common Acceptation of that Phraſe; and to rail at them in groſs, is as fooliſh. The greateſt Evils often proceed from the beſt Things abuſed, or ill applied; and this is particularly true of the Paſſions, which are the conſtituent Parts of a Man, and are good or ill as they are managed.

The Exerciſe therefore of Reaſon is nothing elſe, but the indulging or controuling of the Paſſions, with an impartial Hand, and giving them all fair Play; it is an equal Adminiſtration of the Appetites, by which they are reſtrained from outrunning one another: Thus for Example, if Mens Fears were always as powerful as their Hopes, they would rarely run into Danger; or, if their Hopes

Hopes ballanced their Fears, they would never deſpair.

Every one of the leading Paſſions is as neceſſary as another; all the Difficulty is to keep them well marſhalled: They are only terrible by breaking out of their Ranks; and when they do, they are all alike terrible, though the World generally thinks otherwiſe. But it is certain, that thoſe Paſſions to which the kindeſt Ideas are annexed, do as much Miſchief when they get out of their Bounds, as do thoſe to which we annex the harſheſt Ideas; and Love and Hope, which bear ſoft and mild Names, are in their Exceſſes as active and as formidable Paſſions, as are Anger and Revenge, the Names of which are apt to ſhock us; and Anger and Revenge are, in their proper Limits, more deſirable Paſſions than are Love and Hope out of their proper Limits; that is, they are all equally good, or all equally evil, juſt as they are let looſe or reſtrained. A Man who cuts another's Throat out of Love to his Wife, commits the ſame Wickedneſs as if he did it out of Revenge. Extravagant Joy for the *Reſtoration* (which was doubtleſs a great and extraordinary Bleſſing) had well nigh coſt *England* its Religion and Liberty; and afterwards the awakening Fears of Popery ſaved both. No Nation has been more fleſhed in Blood than the *Turks*; principally, becauſe the falſe Hopes of *Mahomet*'s laſcivious Paradiſe animated them in their Butcheries.

The only Way therefore of dealing with Mankind, is to deal with their Paſſions; and the Founders of all States, and of all Religions, have ever done ſo: The firſt Elements, or Knowledge of Politicks, is the Knowledge of the Paſſions; and the

the Art of Governing, is chiefly the Art of applying to the Paſſions. When the publick Paſſions (by which I mean every Man's particular Warmth, and Concern about publick Tranſactions and Events) are well regulated and honeſtly employed, this is called Government, or the Art of Governing; and when they are knaviſhly raiſed and ill employed, it is called Faction, which is the gratifying of private Paſſion by publick Means.

And becauſe Paſſion and Opinion are ſo nearly related, and have ſuch Force upon each other, Arbitrary Courts and Crafty Churchmen have ever endeavoured to force, or frighten, or deceive the People into an Uniformity of Thoughts, eſpecially of Religious Thoughts.—— A Thing tyrannical and impoſſible! And yet a whole People do often, through Ignorance, or Fear, ſeem of one Mind; and but ſeem: For if they came to explain, they would find their Ideas differ widely, though their Words agree. Whereas in a well-governed free State, Diverſity of Speculations is ſo far from clogging the publick Good, that it evidently promotes the ſame; all Men being equally engaged in the Defence of that, by which all Men are indifferently protected. So that to attempt to reduce all Men to one Standard of Thinking, is abſurd in Philoſophy, impious in Religion, and Faction in the State. And though the mortifying of the Appetites, be a very plauſible Phraſe, and, in a reſtrained Senſe, a laudable Thing; yet he who recommends it to you, does often mean nothing but this, *Make your Paſſions tame, that I may ride them.*

There is ſcarce any one of the Paſſions but what is truly laudable, when it centers in the Publick, and makes that its Object. Ambition, Avarice, Revenge,

Revenge, are all ſo many Virtues, when they aim at the general Welfare. I know that it is exceeding hard and rare, for any Man to ſeparate his Paſſions from his own Perſon and Intereſt; but it is certain that there have been ſuch Men. *Brutus*, *Cato*, *Regulus*, *Timoleon*, *Dion*, and *Epaminondas*, were ſuch, as were many more ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; and, I hope, *England* has ſtill ſome ſuch. And though in purſuing publick Views, Men regard themſelves and their own Advantages; yet if they regard the Publick more, or their own in Subſerviency to the Publick, they may juſtly be eſteemed virtuous and good.

No Man can be too ambitious of the Glory and Security of his Country, nor too angry at its Misfortunes and ill Uſage; nor too revengeful againſt thoſe that abuſe and betray it; nor too avaritious to enrich it, provided that in doing it, he violates not the Rights of others.

Tacitus giving the Character of the Emperor *Galba*, who doubtleſs was an honeſt Man, and had many Virtues, after ſaying that he coveted no Man's Money, and was ſparing of his own, adds, that he was ſollicitous to ſave publick Money—— *Pecuniæ alienæ non appetens, ſuæ parcus, publicæ avarus*; which publick Avarice in him was a publick Virtue, and coſt him his Life: He was not ſuffered to reign, becauſe he would not laviſh away the publick Money in Bribes; *Milites à ſe eligi non emi*. So dangerous and even fatal was perſonal Virtue in that corrupt State! and ſo hard and impoſſible is it in any State, to ſtay the Progreſs of Corruption! *Galba* would have reformed the *Roman* State: But the Vices of his Predeceſſors, and long Uſe, made it impracticable; and he loſt his

Life in the Attempt. The Paſſions of Men were detached from the Commonwealth, and placed upon their own perſonal Security or Gain, and they had no Senſe of the Publick, and as little Knowledge of its Affairs; for that great People, and almoſt the whole World, had been long the ſole Property of a ſingle Man, who took Counſel only of his Luſt.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 5, 1721. No. 40.

Conſiderations on the reſtleſs and ſelfiſh Spirit of Man.

SIR,

IT is melancholy to conſider how every Thing in the World is abuſed: The Reaſon is, that Men having themſelves chiefly in view, conſider all Things with an Eye to themſelves only; and thus it is that general Bleſſings ceaſe to be ſo by being converted into private Property, as is always done where it is ſafe or poſſible to be done.

Enquiring how it comes to paſs that the beſt Things in the World, ſuch as Religion, Property, and Power, are made to do ſo much hurt; I find it to proceed principally from hence, that Men are never ſatisfied with their preſent Condition, which is never perfectly happy; and perfect Happineſs being their chief Aim, and always out of their Reach, they are reſtleſly graſping at what they never can attain.

So

So chimerical is the Nature of Man! His greateſt Pleaſures are always to come, and therefore never come. His Content cannot poſſibly be perfect, becauſe its higheſt Objects are conſtantly future; and yet it is the more perfect for their being future. Our higheſt Enjoyment is of that which is not: Our Pleaſure is Deceit; and the only real Happineſs that we have, is derived from Non-Entities. We are never ſatisfied with being juſt what we are; and therefore, though you give us all that we deſire, or can conceive, yet we ſhall not have done deſiring. The preſent Poſſeſſions give but little Joy, let them be ever ſo great; even as great as can be graſped: It is the Enjoyment to come that is only or moſt valued. When we ſay, that if ſuch a Thing happened, we would be eaſie; we can only mean, or ought only to mean, that we would be more eaſie than we are: And in that too we are often miſtaken; for new Acquiſitions bring new Wants, and imaginary Wants are as pungent as real ones. So that there is the ſame End of Wiſhing as of Living, and Death only can ſtill the Appetites.

Publick Bleſſings would really be ſo to every Man, if every Man would be content with his Share: But every Man would have more; nor would more ſatisfy him, whatever he may think; but his Deſires would riſe with his Poſſeſſions or his Power, and his laſt Wiſh would be to have All: Nor would the Poſſeſſion of All quiet the Mind of Man, which the whole World cannot fill. Indeed, he who has moſt, wants moſt; and Care, anxious Care, as it is the cloſe Companion of Greatneſs, ſo it is furtheſt from him who has leaſt to care for,

I own, that many have ſeemed to deſpiſe Riches and Power, and really declined the Means of acquiring them: But they deceived themſelves, if they thought that this Conduct of theirs was owing to a real Contempt for the Things themſelves; when in Truth it was only a Diſlike of the Terms upon which they were to be had. Diſintereſtedneſs is often created by Lazineſs, Pride, or Fear; and then it is no Virtue. There is not, perhaps, a Man living but would be glad of Wealth and Grandeur, if he could acquire them with Speed, and poſſeſs them with Eaſe; and almoſt all Men would riſk, and do daily riſk, Eaſe, Reputation, Life and all, to come at them. Do we not ſee that Men venture being Beggars to be rich, loſe their Reſt for the Sake of Quiet, and acquire Infamy to earn Honour? We live in a Hurry, in order to come at a Reſting-place, and in Crowds to purchaſe Solitude. Nor are we the nearer to our End, though the Means ſucceed: Human Life is a Life of Expectation and Care, and he who rejects the Conditions muſt quit it.

Every Paſſion, every View that Men have, is ſelfiſh in ſome Degree; but when it does good to the Publick in its Operation and Conſequence, it may be juſtly called diſintereſted in the uſual Meaning of that Word. So that when we call any Man diſintereſted, we ſhould intend no more by it, than that the Turn of his Mind is towards the Publick, and that he has placed his own perſonal Glory and Pleaſure in ſerving it. To ſerve his Country is his private Pleaſure, Mankind is his Miſtreſs, and he does good to them by gratifying himſelf.

Diſintereſt-

Diſintereſtedneſs, in any other Senſe than this, there is none. For Men to act independently on their Paſſions, is a Contradiction; ſince their Paſſions enter into all that they do, and are the Source of it: And the beſt Actions which Men perform, often ariſe from Fear, Vanity, Shame, and the like Cauſes. When the Paſſions of Men do good to others, it is called Virtue and publick Spirit; and when they do hurt to others, it is called Selfiſhneſs, Diſhoneſty, Luſt, and other Names of Infamy. The Motive of every Man's Conduct is fetched from within, and has a good or an ill Name, according to its Effect upon others; and ſometimes the great Difference between an honeſt Man and a Knave, is no other than a piece of Humour or a piece of Chance. As the Paſſions of Men, which are only the Motions raiſed within us by the Motion of Things without us, are ſoothed or animated by external Cauſes, it is hard to determine, whether there be a Man in the World who might not be corrupted by ſome Means and Applications; the Nicety is, to chuſe thoſe that are proper.

All theſe Diſcoveries and Complaints of the Crookedneſs and Corruption of human Nature, are made with no malignant Intention to break the Bonds of Society; but they are made to ſhew, that as Selfiſhneſs is the ſtrongeſt Biaſs of Men, every Man ought to be upon his Guard againſt another, that he become not the Prey of another. The too great Confidence which many Men have placed in One, has often ruined Millions. How many ſorrowful Experiences have we, that Men will be Rogues where they dare; and that the greateſt Opportunities always make

the greateſt! Give them what you can, they will ſtill want more than you give; and therefore the higheſt Truſts are the moſt apt to be broken.

Thoſe who have talked moſt of the Dignity of human Nature, ſeem to have underſtood it but little. Men are ſo far from having any Views purely publick and diſintereſted, that Government firſt aroſe from every Man's taking care of himſelf; and Government is never abuſed and perverted, but from the ſame Cauſe. Do we not know that one Man has ſlaughtered a Million, and overturned Nations, for the gaining of one Point to himſelf; and that almoſt all Men would follow Evil, if they found their greateſt Advantage or Pleaſure in it?

Here therefore lies the Source of all the Evil which Men ſuffer from Men, that every Man loves himſelf better than he loves his whole Species, and more or leſs conſults himſelf in all that he does. He naturally purſues what is pleaſant or profitable in his own Eyes, though in doing it he entail Miſery upon Multitudes. So that we have no other Security againſt the Malice and Rapine of each other, but the Security of Laws or our own Force. By Laws, Societies ſubſiſt within themſelves, and by Force they defend themſelves againſt each other. And as in the Buſineſs of Faith and Leagues between Nation and Nation, Treaties are made by Conſent, but kept by Fear and Power, and obſerved or violated juſt as Intereſt, Advantage, and Opportunities invite, without Regard to Faith and good Conſcience, which are only Words of Good-breeding, with which Courts compliment one another and themſelves; ſo between Subject and Subject, and between Magiſtrates

trates and Subjects, Concord and Security are preſerved by the Terror of Laws, and the Ties of mutual Intereſt; and both Intereſt and Terror derive their Strength from the Impulſes of Self-Love.

Thus one Man is only ſafe, while it is the Intereſt of another to let him alone; and Men are Knaves or honeſt Men, according to the Judgment which they make of their own Intereſt and Eaſe, and of the Terms upon which they chuſe to live in the World. Many Men are honeſt, without any Virtue, or indeed a Thought of Honeſty; as many others are Rogues, without any Malice: And both Sorts mean only their own perſonal Advantage; but take different Roads to arrive at it. This is their great Aim; and that Conſtitution which truſts more than it needs to any Man, or Body of Men, has a terrible Flaw in it, and is big with the Seeds of its own Deſtruction. Hence aroſe Tyrants and Tyranny, and Standing Armies; *Marius* and *Cæſar*, and *Oliver Cromwell*. How prepoſterouſly do Men act! By too great Confidence in one Man, or a few Men, they become Slaves; and by a general Diſtruſt of each other, they continue ſo!

It may be objected, that ſince Men are ſuch a wretched Race, made ſo by the Apoſtacy of *Adam*, they are not worth ſerving; that the moſt unhappy of them, are but what they themſelves would make others, and therefore their Fate is juſt upon them.

In anſwer to this, I readily own what I have been proving, that Men are very bad where they dare, and that all Men would be Tyrants, and do what they pleaſe. But ſtill let us preſerve Juſtice

and Equality in the World. Why ſhould he, who is bad himſelf, oppreſs others who are no worſe than him? Beſides, the Lot of Humanity being an unhappy one, it is an honeſt Ambition, that of endeavouring to mend it, to improve Nature by Virtue, and to mend Mankind by obliging them to obſerve Rules that are good. We do not expect philoſophical Virtue from them; but only that they follow Virtue as their Intereſt, and find it penal and dangerous to depart from it. And this is the only Virtue that the World wants, and the only Virtue that it can truſt to.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 19, 1721. No. 41.

The Emperor Galba's *Speech to* Piſo, *with an Introduction.*

SIR,

I Send you a Tranſlation of the Speech of the Emperor *Galba* to *Piſo*, when he adopted him his Partner and Succeſſor in the Empire; a Speech full of great Senſe, great Honeſty, and noble Sentiments. Indeed, *Galba* ſeems to have come to the Government with worthy Intentions to mend it. To reſtore the ancient Liberty was impoſſible. Things had run long in another Channel; People were accuſtomed to the Largeſſes and falſe Bounty of their Princes, to the awful and ſounding Names of the *Cæſars*, and to the Luxury, Pomp, and Tinſel of a Court. The Soldiers would have an Emperor, nor could the Senate withſtand

withſtand the Soldiers: The venerable Orders of the Commonwealth had been long aboliſhed, her ancient Virtues extinct, *Nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris*; and the Commonwealth itſelf was forgot: *Quotus quiſque reliquus qui rem publicam vidiſſet!* ſays *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the End of the Reign of *Auguſtus*. In ſhort, the Emperor was all in all—— *Illuc cuncta vergere.* The State was overturned, mangled, and changed: The old Laws of Equality were utterly loſt in the Imperial Power, and that was ſupported by the Sword. There was no Safety but in Servitude, *Juſſa Principis aſpectare*—— All the other Magiſtrates were but Shadows with fine old Names.

The chief Aim, therefore, of *Galba*, ſince he could not reſtore, was to reform. A worthy Attempt, but he failed in it: So irreſiſtible was the Tide of Corruption! Two Things principally obſtructed his Deſign, and ſhortened his Life and Reign; the Avarice of the Soldiery, and the vile Conduct of his Servants.

As to the Soldiers, he had honeſtly, but unfortunately ſaid, that *he would chuſe them, but not buy them*; a Saying which they never forgave him. Beſides, as he practiſed himſelf the rigid old *Roman* Diſcipline, he would oblige his Army to practiſe it; a Thing new to them, and intolerable. They had been long uſed to Luxury and Sloth, and were grown as fond of the Vileneſs and Vices of their Princes, as the old Republican Armies had been of the Temperance, Modeſty, and other Virtues of their Commanders: They, therefore, could not bear the Severity and Frugality of *Galba*; nor would *Galba* depart from his Temper and his Purpoſes. Money would have

made them his Friends; but he would part with none. The Reflection of the Hiſtorian upon this Conduct of his, is fine, but melancholy,——— *Nocuit antiquus Rigor, & nimia ſeveritas, cui jàm pares non ſumus:* "He was ruined by reviving "unreaſonably the ſevere Virtue of our Anceſtors: "Alas we are no longer equal to it." To conclude this Head, the Soldiers butchered an Emperor that would not bribe them.

As to the part of *Galba*'s Servants, in the Tragedy of their Maſter, it was no ſmall one: They made him odious by their own Crimes; and in his Name committed Cruelties and Rapine, which blackened his Character; and when they had brought him under a general Diſlike, none of his own good Qualities could recover him his good Name: *Inviſo ſemel principe, ſeu bene ſeu male facta premunt.* Their Avarice was imputed to him, and called his,——*Jam offerebant venalia cuncta præpotentes Liberti.* They were reſolved to make the moſt of his ſhort Reign, and by doing ſo made it ſhorter——*Servorum manus ſubitis avidæ, & tanquam apud ſenem feſtinantes.* He paid dear for their Wickedneſs,——*Odio flagitiorum oneratum deſtruebant.* His Character, in relation to his Friends and Servants, was, That he was indulgent to them, if they were good; and blind to their Faults, if they were bad. *Ubi in bonos incidiſſet, ſine reprehenſione patiens: Si mali forent, uſque ad culpam ignarus.*

The reſt of his Character, taken from *Tacitus*, from whom I have taken the Whole, is, That being Seventy Years old, he had lived in Proſperity during five Reigns, more happy in them than in his own: That he was of a Family Ancient, Great,

Great, and Noble, and Maſter of great Wealth: That he had a moderate Capacity, and more Innocence than Abilities: That he neither courted Fame, nor deſpiſed it: That he coveted no Man's Money, was ſparing of his own, and ſollicitous to ſave publick Money: That a Nobleman of his great Birth and Quality, having lived ſo ſecurely in ſuch dangerous Times, was a Thing ſo ſurprizing and rare, that his good Fortune paſſed for Wiſdom, and his real Indolence for real Art: That in the Vigour of his Years, he acquired great Renown in the *German* Wars: That being Proconſul in *Africa*, he governed that Province, and afterwards *Spain*, with great Equity: That he ſeemed greater than a Subject, while he was but a Subject; and that in the Opinion of all Men, he was equal to the Empire, if he had never been Emperor.

So much for the Character of *Galba*, which I thought neceſſary to introduce his Speech to *Piſo*, who was every Way worthy of the Adoption, and of a better Fortune, which, however, was of a piece: He was long an Exile under *Nero*, who had murdered his Brother *Craſſus*, as had *Claudius* his Brother *Magnus*: He himſelf was but four Days *Cæſar*, and then butchered, as was his eldeſt Brother preſently after him: He was of a noble Race, both by Father and Mother, and had an amiable and popular Character for the Severity of his Manners, and his many Virtues; and during the few Days of his higheſt Power and Adverſity, he behaved himſelf with great Modeſty and Firmneſs, and ſeemed to make good every Hope concerning him.—— But Virtue and Goodneſs were then pernicious, and we ſee what he got by having them.

them. The whole Story, and particularly his Fate in it, affects me.

I am, &c.

The Speech of Galba *to* Piſo.

" WEre I, as a private Man, to adopt you for " my Son, by Virtue of the Law *Curi-* " *ata*, in preſence of the Pontifs, according to the " ordinary Uſage; glorious even then would be " the Adoption to us both; as with the Blood of " the great *Pompey* and of *Marcus Craſſus*, my " Family would be enriched; and the Nobility " of your Houſe derive freſh Splendor from the " ſignal Luſtre and Renown of the *Sulpitian* and " *Lutatian* Race. I am now a publick Perſon, " by the united Conſent of Gods and Men called " to the Empire; and of this ſame Sovereignty, " for which our Anceſtors contended with Arms, " I, who by War have obtained it, do offer you " the Poſſeſſion, while you are neither ſeeking nor " purſuing it: A Gift to which I am urged only " by the Love of my Country and your own ex- " cellent Qualifications. In this I follow the " Example of the deified *Auguſtus*, who aſſumed " ſucceſſively, for his Partners in Power, firſt his " Siſter's Son *Marcellus*, next his Son-in-law *A-* " *grippa*, afterwards his Grandſons; laſtly, his " Wife's Son *Tiberius*. But *Auguſtus*, who would " entail the Empire upon his own Houſe, in his " own Houſe ſought a Succeſſor: I chuſe out of " the Commonwealth an Heir to the Common- " wealth. Not that I am reduced to this Choice " by any Want of Relations to my Blood, or of " Fellow-Commanders in War. But neither

" did

" did I, no more than you, arrive at ſupreme
" Power by any Efforts of Ambition; and my
" thus overlooking your Relations, as well as my
" own, is a Proof and Monument with what Sin-
" cerity of Intention I prefer you to all Men.
" You have a Brother, in Nobility your Equal,
" in Age your Superior; a Man worthy of this
" Fortune; did I not in you find one ſtill more
" worthy. Such is your Age as to be paſt the
" Giddineſs and Impetuoſity of Youth; ſuch has
" been your Courſe of Life, that Nothing in
" your Conduct, thus far, is ſubject to Blame.
" But hitherto you have only had an adverſe For-
" tune to contend with. More dangerous and
" keen are the Stimulations of Proſperity, to try
" the Temper of the Soul, and call forth its
" Weakneſſes. For, the Strokes of Calamity we
" ſtruggle under and bear: By a Flow of Feli-
" city we are utterly ſubdued and corrupted.

" You, doubtleſs, will ſtill retain with your
" uſual Firmneſs, the ſame Honour, Faith in
" Friendſhip, Candour, and Freedom of Spirit;
" Endowments which above all others adorn the
" Mind of Man. But the falſe Complaiſance of
" others will ſlacken your Fortitude. Flattery
" will force its Way to your Heart; deceitful
" Soothings, the moſt peſtilent Poyſon to every
" honeſt Affection, will enchant you; and to
" his own ſordid Gain will every Particular be
" wreſting your Honour and good Inclinations.
" You and I upon this Occaſion converſe together
" with Hearts perfectly open and ſincere: Others
" will chuſe to make their Addreſſes to our For-
" tune rather than to us. Indeed, to deal faith-
" fully with Princes, to reaſon them into their

" Duty,

" Duty, is a mighty Task, and with infinite " Difficulty performed. But eaſy is the Art of " cajoling any Prince whatſoever, and in doing " it the Heart has no ſhare. Could this immenſe " Empire ſubſiſt and be ſwayed without a ſingle " Ruler, I ſhould glory in reſigning, glory in " being the firſt Emperor who reſigned the Power " of the Republick into her own Hands. But " ſuch, long ſince, has been the fatal Situation " of the State, that all the Good which my Old " Age enables me to do to the *Roman* People, is " to leave them a good Succeſſor; nor can you, " with all your Youth, do more for them than " afford them in yourſelf a benevolent Prince. " Under *Tiberius* and *Caligula* and *Claudius*, we " were all of us no more, the *Roman* World was " no more, than as the Inheritance of one Fa- " mily. That the Empire has in me begun to " be elective, is a Sign of our ancient Liberty re- " vived, and ſome Equivalent for it; the only " Liberty we are capable of enjoying. Now the " *Julian* and *Claudian* Families being extinct, the " beſt Men are likely, in this Way of Adoption, " to become the higheſt. To be ſprung from a " ſovereign Race, is the Effect of Chance, and " further than this requires no Deliberation or " Regard. But in the Work of Adoption, the " Judgment is exerciſed, free from Biaſs and Re- " ſtraint; and whenever you want to chuſe, you " are by the general Conſent directed to the Per- " ſon worthy to be choſen.

" Have always before your Eyes the Example " of *Nero*, who, ſecure as he was, and ſwelling " with the Pride of his Race, a long Genealogy of " the Cæſars his Anceſtors, was not in reality

" dethroned

" dethroned by *Julius Vindex*, the Governor of " a Province unprovided with Forces, nor by me, " aſſiſted by one Legion: No, it was his own " brutal Tyranny, his own beaſtly Debaucheries, " that flung down the Tyrant from riding on " the Necks of Mankind. Nor was there till " then any Inſtance of an Emperor by publick " Sentence condemned and depoſed. We who " ſucceed him by a different Title, by War and " by publick Approbation and Choice, ſhall thence " reap publick Glory, however the Malignity of " Particulars may purſue us. Nor muſt you be " alarmed, if, while the World itſelf continues in " this general Uproar, there are two Legions " which yet remain unreclaimed to Obedience. It " was my own Lot to be called to an unſettled " State; and as to my Old Age, the only Ob- " jection to my Government, it is no longer one, " ſince, when it is known that I have adopted " you, I ſhall ſeem young in my Succeſſor. The " Loſs of *Nero* will ever be regretted by all the " moſt profligate and bad. To us it belongs, to " you and to me, ſo to govern that he may not " alſo be regretted by the good.

" To ſay more in this Way of Inſtruction, " the preſent Conjuncture ſuffers not; nor is it " neceſſary; ſince if I have in you made a wor- " thy Choice, I have anſwered every Purpoſe. " One certain Rule you have to obſerve, exceed- " ing wholſome as well as exceeding ſhort; ſo to " comport yourſelf towards your Subjects, as, were " you a Subject, you would wiſh your Prince to " comport towards you. By this Rule you will " beſt diſtinguiſh the Boundaries of Juſtice and " Iniquity, beſt comprehend the Art of reigning.

" For,

" For, you muſt remember that it is not with us " as with other Nations, ſuch as are barbarous " and tyrannized, where a particular lordly Houſe " is eſtabliſhed, and where all beſides are Slaves " without Reſerve. But you are about to govern " the *Romans*; a People of too little Virtue to " ſupport compleat Liberty, of too much Spirit to " bear abſolute Bondage."

G

SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 26, 1721. No. 42.

Conſiderations on the Nature of Laws.

SIR,

THE Miſchiefs that are daily done, and the Evils that are daily ſuffered in the World, are ſad Proofs how much human Malice exceeds human Wiſdom. Law only provides againſt the Evils which it knows or foreſees; but when Laws fail, we muſt have Recourſe to Reaſon and Nature, which are the only Guides in the making of Laws. *Stirpem Juris a Natura repertam*, ſays *Cicero*; there never would have been any Law againſt any Crime, if Crimes might have been ſafely committed, againſt which there was no Law: For every Law ſuppoſes ſome Evil, and can only puniſh or reſtrain the Evils which already exiſt.

But as poſitive Laws, let them be ever ſo full and perſpicuous, can never entirely prevent the Arts of crafty Men to evade them, or the Power of great ones to violate them; hence new Laws are daily making, and new Occaſions for more

are

are daily ariſing: So that the utmoſt that Wiſdom, Virtue, and Law can do, is to leſſen or qualify, but never totally aboliſh Vice and Enormity. Law is therefore a Sign of the Corruption of Man; and many Laws are Signs of the Corruption of a State.

Poſitive Laws deriving their Force from the Law of Nature, by which we are directed to make occaſional Rules, which we call Laws, according to the Exigences of Times, Places, and Perſons, grow obſolete, or ceaſe to be, as ſoon as they ceaſe to be neceſſary: And it is as much againſt the Law of Nature to execute Laws, when the firſt Cauſe of them ceaſes, as it is to make Laws, for which there is no Cauſe, or a bad Cauſe. This would be to ſubject Reaſon to Force, and to apply a Penalty where there is no Crime. Law is right Reaſon, commanding Things that are good, and forbidding Things that are bad; it is a Diſtinction and Declaration of Things juſt and unjuſt, and of the Penalties or Advantages annexed to them.

The Violation therefore of Law does not conſtitute a Crime where the Law is bad; but the Violation of what ought to be Law, is a Crime even where there is no Law. The Eſſence of Right and Wrong, does not depend upon Words and Clauſes inſerted in a Code or a Statute-Book, much leſs upon the Concluſions and Explications of Lawyers; but upon Reaſon and the Nature of Things, antecedent to all Laws. In all Countries, Reaſon is or ought to be conſulted, before Laws are enacted; and they are always worſe than none, where it is not conſulted. Reaſon is in ſome Degree given to all Men; and *Cicero* ſays, that whoever has Reaſon, has right Reaſon; that

Virtue

Virtue is but perfect Reaſon; and that all Nations having Reaſon for their Guide, all Nations are capable of arriving at Virtue.

From this Reaſoning of his, it would follow, that every People are capable of making Laws, and good Laws; and that Laws, where they are bad, are gained by Corruption, Faction, Fear, or Surprize; and are rather their Misfortune, than the Effects of their Folly. The Acts of *Cæſar* were confirmed by the Senate and the People; but the Senate was awed, and the Tribunes and People were bribed: Arms and Money procured him a Law to declare him lawleſs. But, as the moſt pompous Power can never unſettle the everlaſting Land-marks between Good and Evil, no more than thoſe between Pleaſure and Pain; *Cæſar* remained ſtill a Rebel to his Country, and his Acts remained wicked and tyrannical.

Let this ſtand for an Inſtance, that Laws are not always the Meaſure of Right and Wrong. And as poſitive Laws often ſpeak when the Law of Nature is ſilent, the Law of Nature ſometimes ſpeaks, when poſitive Laws ſay nothing——*neque opinione, ſed natura conſtitutum eſſe Jus.* That brave *Roman*, *Horatius Cocles*, was bound by no written Law to defend the wooden Bridge over the *Tiber*, againſt a whole Army of *Tuſcans*; nor was there any Law, that I know of, in *Rome*, againſt Adultery, when the younger *Tarquin* raviſhed *Lucretia:* And yet the Virtue of *Horatius* was juſtly rewarded, and the Vileneſs of *Tarquin* juſtly puniſhed, by the *Romans*.

It is impoſſible to deviſe Laws ſufficient to regulate and manage every Occurrence and Circumſtance of Life, becauſe they are often produced and

and diverſified by Cauſes that do not appear; and in every Condition of Life, Men muſt have, and will have, great Allowances made to their own natural Liberty and Diſcretion: But every Man who conſents to the neceſſary Terms of Society, will alſo conſent to this Propoſition, that *every Man ſhould do all the Good, and prevent all the Evil that he can.* This is the Voice of the Law of Nature; and all Men would be happy by it, if all Men would practiſe it. This Law leads us to ſee, that the Eſtabliſhment of Falſhood and Tyranny (by which I mean the Privilege of One or a Few to miſlead and oppreſs All) cannot be juſtly called Law, which is the impartial Rule of Good and Evil, and can never be the Sanction of Evil alone.

It has been often ſaid, that Virtue is its own Reward; and it is very true, not only from the Pleaſure that attends the Conſciouſneſs of doing well, and the Fame that follows it, but in a more extenſive Senſe, from the Felicity which would accrue to every Man, if all Men would purſue Virtue: But as this Truth may appear too general to allure and engage particular Men, who will have always their own ſingle ſelves moſt at Heart, abſtracted from all the reſt; therefore in the making of Laws, the Pleaſures and Fears of particular Men, being the great Engines by which they are to be governed, muſt be conſulted: Vice muſt be rendered deteſtable and dangerous; Virtue amiable and advantageous. Their Shame and Emulation muſt be raiſed, their private Profit and Glory, Peril and Infamy, laid before them. This is the Meaning of *Tully*, when he ſays, *Vitiorum emen-*

emendatricem legem eſſe oportet, commendatricemque virtutum.

Rewards and Puniſhments therefore conſtitute the whole Strength of Laws; and the Promulgation of Laws, without which they are none, is an Appeal to the Senſe and Intereſt of Men, which of the two they will chuſe.

The two great Laws of human Society, from whence all the reſt derive their Courſe and Obligation, are thoſe of Equity and Self-preſervation: By the Firſt, all Men are bound alike not to hurt one another; by the Second, all Men have a Right alike to defend themſelves: *Nam jure hoc evenit, ut quod quiſque ob tutelam corporis ſui fecerit, jure feciſſe exiſtimetur*, ſays the Civil Law; that is, "It is a Maxim of the Law, that whatever "we do in the Way, and for the Ends of Self-"defence, we lawfully do:" All the Laws of Society are entirely reciprocal, and no Man ought to be exempt from their Force; and whoever violates this primary Law of Nature, ought by the Law of Nature to be deſtroyed. He who obſerves no Law, forfeits all Title to the Protection of Law. It is Wickedneſs not to deſtroy a Deſtroyer; and all the ill Conſequences of Self-defence are chargeable upon him who occaſioned them.

Many Miſchiefs are prevented, by deſtroying One who ſhews a certain Diſpoſition to commit many. To allow a Licence to any Man to do Evil with Impunity, is to make Vice triumph over Virtue, and Innocence the Prey of the Guilty. If Men be obliged to bear great and publick Evils, when they can upon better Terms oppoſe and remove them; they are obliged by the ſame Logick,

to

to bear the total Deſtruction of Mankind. If any Man may deſtroy whom he pleaſes without Reſiſtance, he may extinguiſh human Race without Reſiſtance. For, if you ſettle the Bounds of Reſiſtance, you allow it; and if you do not fix its Bounds, you leave Property at the Mercy of Rapine, and Life in the Hands of Cruelty.

It is ſaid, that the Doctrine of Reſiſtance would deſtroy the Peace of the World: But it may be more truly ſaid, that the contrary Doctrine would deſtroy the World itſelf, as it has already ſome of the beſt Countries in it. I muſt indeed own, that if one Man may deſtroy all, there would be great and laſting Peace when Nobody was left to break it.

The Law of Nature does not only allow us, but oblige us, to defend ourſelves. It is our Duty, not only to ourſelves, but to the Society; *Vitam tibi ipſi ſi negas, multis negas*, ſays *Seneca:* If we ſuffer tamely a lawleſs Attack upon our Property and Fortunes, we encourage it, and involve others in our Doom. And *Cicero* ſays, "He who does "not reſiſt Miſchief when he may, is guilty of "the ſame Crime as if he had deſerted his Pa-"rents, his Friends, and his Country."

So that the Conduct of Men, who when they are ill treated, uſe Words rather than Arms, and practiſe Submiſſion rather than Reſiſtance, is owing to a prudential Cauſe, becauſe there is Hazard in Quarrels and War, and their Caſe may be made worſe by an Endeavour to mend it; and not to any Confeſſion of Right in thoſe that do them wrong. When Men begin to be wicked, we cannot tell where that Wickedneſs will end; we have Reaſon to fear the worſt, and provide againſt it.

Such

Such is the Proviſion made by Laws: They are Checks upon the unruly and partial Appetites of Men, and intended for Terror and Protection. But as there are already Laws ſufficient every where, to preſerve Peace between private Particulars, the great Difficulty has hitherto been to find proper Checks for thoſe who were to check and adminiſter the Laws. To ſettle therefore a thorough Impartiality in the Laws, both as to their End and Execution, is a Task worthy of human Wiſdom, as it would be the Cauſe and Standard of Civil Felicity. In the Theory, nothing is more eaſy than this Task: Yet who is able to perform it, if they who can will not?

No Man in Society ought to have any Privilege above the reſt, without giving the Society ſome Equivalent for ſuch his Privilege. Thus Legiſlators, who compile good Laws, and good Magiſtrates who execute them, do, by their honeſt Attendance upon the Publick, deſerve the Privileges and Pay which the Publick allows them; and Place and Power are the Wages paid by the People to their own Deputies and Agents. Hence it has been well ſaid, that a chief Magiſtrate is *major ſingulis, omnibus minor*—— "He is above the private Mem-"bers of the Community, but the Community "itſelf is above him."

Wherever, therefore, the Laws are honeſtly intended and equally executed, ſo as to comprehend in their Penalties and Operation the Great as well and as much as the Small, and hold in awe the Magiſtrates as much as the Subject, that Government is good, that People are happy.

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *September* 2, 1721. No. 43.

The natural Paſſion of Men for Superiority.

SIR,

ALL Men have an Ambition to be conſiderable, and take ſuch Ways as their Judgments ſuggeſt to become ſo. Hence proceeds the Appetite of all Men to riſe above their Fellows, and the conſtant Emulation that always has been, and always will be in the World, amongſt all ſorts of Men. Nature has made them all equal, and moſt Men ſeem well content with the Lot of Parts which Nature has given them; but the Lot of Fortune never thoroughly ſatisfies thoſe who have the beſt.

The firſt Spring therefore of Inequality is in human Nature, and the next in the Nature of Society. In order that many may live together in perfect Equality, it is neceſſary that ſome ſhould be above the many, who otherwiſe will be uſing Frauds and Violence to get above one another. Some Inequality there muſt be; the Danger is, that it be not too great: Where there is abſolute Equality, all Reverence and Awe, two Checks indiſpenſible in Society, would be loſt; and where Inequality is too great, all Intercourſe and Communication is loſt.

Thus in *Turkey*, where there are no natural Links, nor proper Degrees of Subordination in the Chain of their Government, there is a monſtrous Gap between the Subject and the Throne. The

Grand

Grand Signior preſerves no Underſtanding with his People: Nothing is to be ſeen but the Terrors of Abſolute Monarchy, and the abject Poſtures of crouching Slaves. Power does not glide there, as it ought every where, down an even and eaſy Channel with a gentle and regular Deſcent; but pours from a Precipice with dreadful Din, Rapidity, and Violence, upon the poor and paſſive Vallies below, breaking down all before it, and laying waſte wherever it comes.

All Men in the World are fond of making a Figure in it. This being the great End of all Men, they take different Roads to come at it, according to their different Capacities, Opinions, Tempers, and Opportunities. No Man would chuſe to have any Man his Equal, if he could place himſelf above all Men. All would be *Pompeys*. But though it has fallen to the Share but of few Men to be above all Men; yet as every Man may, or thinks he may, excel ſome Men, there is a perpetual Spur in every Deſcendant of *Adam*, to be aſpiring. Every Man has Self-love, and Self-love is never deſerted by Hope.

But this Spirit in every Man of riſing above other Men, as it conſtitutes the Happineſs of private Individuals, who take great Complacency in their favourable Opinion of themſelves and their own Abilities; ſo is it the great Cauſe of publick and private Evils, Wars, Frauds, Cruelty, and Oppreſſion. The Ambition of excelling in every Station by honeſt Means, is not only lawful but laudable, and produces great Good to Society: But as nothing produces Good in this World, but what may and generally does produce Evil; and as Fame, Riches, and Power may be honeſtly got,

got, but wickedly uſed, it ought to be the Care of Society to provide that ſuch Emulation amongſt its Members be ſo directed and controuled, as to be always beneficial, but never dangerous. But this is a Felicity at which few Nations have arrived, and thoſe that had it rarely preſerved it long.

It is a nice Point of Wiſdom, perhaps too nice for human Judgment, to fix certain and laſting Bounds to this Spirit of Ambition and Emulation amongſt Men. To ſtop it too ſoon, fruſtrates its Uſe; and not to ſtop it at all, invites its Miſchief. The *Venetians*, by diſcouraging it, have never, or very rarely, felt its Advantages; and the *Athenians* found their *Oſtraciſm*, an Expedient invented for this very Purpoſe, ineffectual to prevent their great Men, who had done great Good to the State, from growing terrible to the State itſelf: *Pericles* in particular, by his Arts, Eloquence, and Popularity, made himſelf Maſter of it, and did almoſt what he pleaſed in it all his Life; That ſingle Man was ſo potent in that free City, that he broke the Power of the *Areopagus*, the Senate of *Athens*, a Court of Magiſtrates that ballanced the Power of the Populace, who being ſet free from that Reſtraint, ran into all manner of Licentiouſneſs and Corruption.

The People of *Athens* became the Subjects of *Pericles*: By having done them much good, he found Credit enough to deſtroy their Government and their Virtue. From the Character of a Benefactor, he ſtole into that of a Maſter: So narrow and inviſible are the Bounds between the Benefactor and the Betrayer! *Valerius Maximus* obſerves very finely, that the "only Difference

" between *Piſiſtratus* and *Pericles* was, that the " latter exerciſed by Art the ſame Tyranny that " the other had exerciſed by Arms."

Good and Evil thus often flowing from the ſame Root, and Miſchief being frequently introduced by Merit, it ſhews great Diſcernment and Virtue in a People, and a happy Spirit in their Laws, if they can encourage and employ the Capacity and Genius of their principal Men, ſo as to reap only the good Fruits of their Services.

This was the Practice and good Fortune of the old *Romans* for ſeveral Ages: Virtue was the only Road to Glory; it was admired, ſupported, applauded, and recompenſed; but they who had ſhewn the greateſt, found no Sanctuary from it, when they committed Crimes that deſerved none. This is particularly verified in the Caſes of *Coriolanus* and *Manlius Capitolinus*. They were both brave Men, and had deſerved well of their Country; were both, in Recompence, diſtinguiſhed with great Honours; yet were both afterwards condemned by their Country, the one for a Conſpiracy againſt it, the other for deſpiſing its Laws. Their Services and Crimes were properly ſeparated and rewarded.

Emulation therefore, or the Paſſion of one Man to equal or excel another, ought to be encouraged, with theſe two Reſtrictions: Firſt, That no Man, let his Merit be what it will, ſhould take his own Reward; Secondly, That he ſhould have no more than comes to his Share. *Scipio*, afterwards called *Africanus*, was choſen as the greateſt and beſt Man in *Rome*, to invade the Territories of *Carthage*; and he performed it with great Glory to himſelf, with great Emolument to his Country. He defeated

feated *Hannibal*, and conquered *Carthage*. The like Praiſe is alſo due to *Metellus*, *Lucullus*, to *T. Flaminius*, *Paulus Emilius*, and many other *Roman* Commanders, who all conquered for their Country, and were rewarded by their Country with its Laurels, and its Dignities.

Julius Cæſar, being alſo employed by the Commonwealth to conquer for it, ſucceeded in his Commiſſion; but, as a Reward, took the Commonwealth for his Pains: He paid himſelf with the whole *Roman* World, for having conquered Part of it. *Alexander* the Great, and moſt other Conquerors, had the ſame Modeſty and the ſame Wages; they took All to themſelves.

When Men are left to meaſure their own Merit, and the Reward due to it, they rarely ſtint themſelves; all that they can get is the leaſt that they expect: And, to deſcend to leſſer Inſtances, the World has always abounded in Men, who, though they deſerved Contempt or a Priſon, yet could never be ſatiated with Places and Power. And all Men who have obſerved the Affairs of the World, will remember and acknowledge, that ſometimes one Man has poſſeſſed many Poſts, to whom the publick Suffrage and Conſent never gave one.

In my Reflections upon this Subject, I have often amuſed, and even diverted myſelf, with an odd Imagination; namely, what a wonderful and epidemical Ceſſation of Power and Place would enſue a ſudden and univerſal Removal from thence of every Man who deſerved neither. I fancied that I ſaw the whole Inhabitants of ſeveral Countries, towards every Quarter of the Sky, gaping round them for Magiſtrates, at leaſt for one ſingle Magiſtrate, and finding none; and yet even in

this State of Anarchy, congratulating one another and themſelves upon the wonderful Amendment of their Government. I ſaw all *Aſia*, the whole ample Dominions of the *Turk*, and many potent Kingdoms nearer home, all in an abſolute State of Nature: In the large Boſom of the *Romiſh* Church, not a Prieſt was to be ſeen; and in ſome Proteſtant Countries, the good People were greatly put to it, where to get a Man in a proper Habit to ſay publick Prayers. Here in *England*, indeed, I found a different Face of Things, and more Comfort: For, though at preſent we have no Parliament ſitting, and though in other Places I ſaw diſmal Solitude, and numberleſs Vacancies; yet I perceived many worthy Perſons in Church and State, doing their Buſineſs, and counting their Gains, with great Attention and Alacrity, but greatly diſtreſſed how to find new Perſons for old Places.

Imagination apart: I ſhall conclude in the Words of a great *Engliſh* Writer. It is true that "Conſideration ought to be had of human Frailty; "and ſome Indulgence may be extended to thoſe "who commit Errors, after having done important Services: But a State cannot ſubſiſt, which, "compenſating evil Actions with good, gives Impunity to dangerous Crimes, in remembrance of "any Services whatever. He that does well, performs "his Duty, and ought always to do ſo; Juſtice "and Prudence concur in this; and it is no leſs "juſt than profitable, that every Action be conſidered by itſelf, and ſuch a Reward allotted to "it, as in Nature and Proportion it beſt deſerves."

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I am; &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *September* 9, 1721. No. 44.

Men not ruled by Principle, but by Paſſion.

SIR,

MR. *Bayle*, in the Article of *Epicurus*, ſays, "That Multitudes of Chriſtians believe well, "and live ill: But *Epicurus* and his Followers had, "on the contrary, very ill Opinions, and yet lived "well." The Truth is, the worſt Opinions that are can do but little Harm, when they are impracticable, or when no Advantages are gained by reducing them into Practice; and the beſt can do but little good, when they contradict the darling Pleaſures and prevailing Intereſts of Men.

Dry Reaſoning has no Force: If you would have your Doctrine ſucceſsful, you muſt prove it gainful. And as in order to lay down good Rules for well governing the Commonwealth, you muſt firſt know the Commonwealth; ſo in order to perſwade and govern Men, you muſt know what will pleaſe or frighten them. The Good that they do to one another, they do not becauſe it is juſt or commanded; nor do they forbear mutual Evil, becauſe it is unjuſt or forbid: But theſe Things they do out of Choice or Fear, and both theſe center in themſelves; for Choice is Pleaſure, and Fear is the Apprehenſion of Pain. So that the beſt Things that Men do, as well as the worſt, are ſelfiſh; and Self-love is the Parent of Moral Good and Evil.

What Mr. *Selden* ſays of Humility, may be ſaid of every other Virtue. "Humility, ſays that

" wiſe Man, is a Virtue that all preach, none " practiſe, and yet every Body is content to hear: " The Maſter thinks it good Doctrine for his Ser- " vants, the Laity for the Clergy, and the Cler- " gy for the Laity." Thus we deal with all the Virtues; we leave and recommend the Practice of them to others, and reſerve the Advantage and Praiſe of them to ourſelves.

All this, and the reſt of this Letter, is meant to ſhew that this World is governed by Paſſion, and not by Principle; and it ever will be ſo as long as Men are Men.

There are rarely any Men, never any Body of Men, but what profeſs ſome ſort of Religion; and every Religion profeſſes to promote the Peace of Mankind, the Happineſs of human Society, and the Security of the World; and, for Proof of this, refers to its Principles, Doctrines, and Deciſions. And it is very true that all Parties in Religion contend for Submiſſion to the State, as long as the State humours them, or ſubmits to them; but their Obedience and good Humour never hold longer. All their Principles ply in the Day of Tryal, and are either thrown away, or diſtinguiſhed away; which is the ſame Thing, though not ſo honeſt. Nature is then the beſt Guide, and Paſſion the moſt popular Preacher.

Men ſuit their Tenets to the Circumſtances that they are in, or would be in; and when they have gained their Point, they forget their Tenets. I could give Inſtances of this from all Sorts of Men, and even from many whoſe Names are great and venerable.

Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent and eminent *Greek* Father, being himſelf Orthodox, contended for Toleration to the *Arians*, while the *Arians* were

were uppermoſt, and had the Emperor on their Side: But as ſoon as Things took a contrary Turn, and his own Party had the Imperial Power on their Side, he changed his Stile, and then it was unpardonable Boldneſs and a horrible Attempt, for the *Arians* and *Macedonians* ſo much as to meet together to worſhip God their own Way.

St. *Auſtin* had the ſame Spirit and Inconſiſtency: He was once in the Sentiments of Charity and Toleration towards Hereticks; but his Diſpute afterwards with the *Donatiſts* ſo inflamed him, that he changed without any Ceremony from White to Black, and maintained with Violence, that Hereticks ought to be compelled, perſecuted, and exterminated.

Thus it is that Men bear witneſs againſt themſelves, and practiſe the Evils which they condemn. "The *Puritans*, ſays Mr. *Selden*, who will allow no Free-Will at all, but God does all; yet "will allow the Subject his Liberty to do, or not "to do, notwithſtanding the King, who is God "upon Earth: The *Arminians*, who hold that "we have Free-Will, do yet ſay, when we come "to the King, we muſt be all Obedience, and "no Liberty is to be ſtood for.

"While *Spain* was the moſt renowned Power in "*Europe*, the *Jeſuits*, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, were all "*Spaniards*; as well thoſe born at *Paris* or *Rome*, "as thoſe born in *Old Caſtile*. Ever ſince the "Decay of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Elevation of *Lewis le Grand*, the *Jeſuits* are all *French*, "at *Rome*, at *Vienna*, at *Madrid*, as well as in "the College of *Clermont*. In thoſe Days the "Liberties of the *Gallican* Church appeared to "them not well grounded: They never ceaſed

" writing for the Rights of the Pope againſt thoſe " of our Kings. One might fill a Library with " the Defences compoſed by the Society, and " condemned by the Parliament and the *Sorbon*— " At preſent his Majeſty has not truſtier Pens " than theirs in his Differences with the Pope. " It is now the Turn of the Court of *Rome* to " cenſure the Books of the Reverend Fathers. It " ſeems the King's Proſperity and Succeſſes have " afforded them new Lights."

It is with Laymen and Civil Societies, as with Religious: They have one Sett of Principles when they are in Power; another, and a contrary, when they are out of it. They that command, and they that obey, have ſeldom or never the ſame Motives. Men change with their Condition, and Opinions change with Men. And thus is verified that Maxim of *Rochefoucault*'s, that the Underſtanding is the Dupe or Tool of the Heart; that is, Our Sentiments follow our Paſſions.

Nor has Religion been ſuffered to mend Nature: On the contrary, being inſtituted as a Reſtraint, and an Antidote againſt Sin, it has been and is frequently perverted into a Reaſon for Sinning: Yes, to the Shame and Misfortune of the World, Men often make War upon Truth, Conſcience, and Honeſty, in behalf of their Religion; and there are others, who, when they have wantonly wounded Virtue, have Recourſe to Religion for a Balſam.

All Men ſpeak well of Religion, either natural or revealed, and readily practiſe every Thing in Religion that is eaſy, indifferent, or advantageous to them: But in almoſt every Contention between Religion and the Appetites, the Victory remains

to

to Nature; that is, Men are never diſhoneſt without Temptation, and rarely honeſt againſt it.

Thus their Principle is Intereſt or Pleaſure; and when they ſay that they act from Principle, how can we believe them, unleſs we ſee that they do it againſt Intereſt? A Proof which they rarely give us! Had the ſeveral Contracts and Treaties between Nation and Nation been obſerved, there would never have been War above once between any; or had every free Nation obſerved its own Laws, every free Nation would have continued free; or had private Men obſerved the common Laws of Equity, and thoſe of mutual Compact between each other, every private Man would have lived in Peace and Security. But Treaties, Compacts, and Laws, are only ſo far ſtrong as no Body dares break them.

I think it is *Juvenal*, who ſomewhere brings in a Couple of falſe Witneſſes perjuring themſelves for Hire; one is a religious Rogue, and believes in the Gods; the other is an Infidel, who disbelieves or deſpiſes them. But though they diſagree in their Sentiments, they agree in the Thing, with this very ſmall Difference; The Atheiſt forſwears himſelf boldly without Remorſe; the Believer forſwears himſelf too, but does it with a ſmall Qualm, which is preſently over.

——— *Vendet perjuria ſummâ*
Exiguâ, Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.

Bayle very humourouſly engages a *Mandarin* of *China*, of the Sect of the *Literati*, in a Dialogue with the *Jeſuits*, and with a *Dutch* Embaſſador: The *Jeſuits* tell the *Mandarin*, that the Emperor had no Subjects in his Dominions, whoſe Obe-

dience was ſo ſecure to him as that of their Converts, the Chriſtians; and none whoſe Allegiance was ſo precarious as that of the *Literati*, who were Atheiſts.

" Hold, cries the *Mandarin*; let us not aſſert " too much without proving it: What Reaſon " have you to ſay that the Submiſſion of the Chri- " ſtians to the Orders of the Emperor, is more " certain than that of all his other Subjects? " *That Book inſpired by God*, anſwer the Jeſuits; *That Book which is the Rule of our Faith, commands us expreſly to* ſubmit ourſelves to the higher Powers: *Take the Trouble, my Lord, to read in it ſuch and ſuch Paſſages: Nothing is more clear, nothing ſo preciſely determined.*

" But, ſays the *Mandarin*, turning to the Em- " baſſador, are not you in *Europe* divided about " the Meaning of theſe Paſſages?

" So divided, replies the *Dutchman*, that one " Room would not contain the Volumes written " for and againſt the Right of Subjects to reſiſt " and depoſe their Prince: And both Sides take " particular Care in all their Writings, to ex- " amine accurately every Text of Scripture, which " the reverend Fathers refer you to. This Diſ- " cuſſion of Texts has therefore begot two Pro- " poſitions, flatly contradicting each other. One " Party aſſerts, that in departing from your Obe- " dience, you depart from the *Bible:* The other " ſays, they reſiſt with the *Bible* on their Side. " We have in *Chriſtendom* many Inſtances of " Princes attacked by Parties of their Subjects, " bereft of their Sovereignty, baniſhed, beheaded, " aſſaſſinated, and generally for the Intereſt of " Religion. Nor is there any End of the Books

" publiſhed

" publiſhed on this Occaſion; we have every " Day printed Accuſations, and every Day printed " Apologies; and both they who accuſe, and " they who defend, appeal to God, and refer to " his Word. As to the *Jeſuits* in particular, it " becomes them the leaſt of all Men to talk in " this Manner; no Society of Men have ever writ- " ten ſo much in behalf of popular Inſurrections; " they have openly contended for Rebellion, and " practiſed it; they have been the Authors of " Royal Aſſaſſinations, and have been turned out " of States for diſturbing them.

" If theſe Things are ſo, concludes the *Man-* " *darin*, you Gentlemen of the Order of *Jeſus* " have no Reaſon to boaſt in behalf of yourſelves " and your Followers, as if you were better Sub- " jects than other Men. This your pretended " Article of Faith about the Submiſſion of the " Subject, is couched ſo obſcurely in your Book " of ſacred Laws, that you will never find it " there, when you have Occaſion for a Rebellion " or a Revolution; Events which I find are fre- " quent enough in your Country."

The ſame *Bayle* obſerves, That the ſame Party of Chriſtians, namely, the *French* Catholicks, who had maintained, under *Charles* the Ninth and *Henry* the Third, That it was againſt all Laws, human and divine, for Subjects to take Arms againſt their Prince, did alſo maintain, even before the Death of *Henry* the Third, that it was agreeable to Laws, human and divine, to take up Arms againſt one's Prince. The other Party of Chriſtians, namely, the Proteſtants, were not more conſiſtent. They maintained, during the Reigns of *Charles* the Ninth and *Henry* the Third,

That

That Laws, human and divine, allowed the ſmaller Part of the Subjects to arm themſelves againſt the greater Part even with the King at their Head: But after the Death of *Henry* the Third, when they had got a King of their own Religion, they maintained, That both the Law of God, and the Law of Man, forbid even the greater Part of the Subjects to arm themſelves againſt the ſmaller Part with the King at their Head.

It were needleſs to give more Proofs, and endleſs to give all that might be given. Almoſt every Thing that Men do, is an Evidence that their Friendſhip for themſelves does effectually extinguiſh their Regard for all the reſt of their Species; and that they adopt or reject Principles, juſt as theſe Principles promote or contradict their Intereſt and Paſſions.

Nor are religious or moral Principles the worſe for being thus uſed; but Men ſhew their own unconquerable Malignity and Selfiſhneſs in uſing them thus.

Upon the Whole, I think it very plain, that if you ſeparate from the Principles of Men the Penalties and Advantages which are annexed to them by Laws human and divine, or which every Man has annexed to them in his own Mind, you will hardly leave ſuch a Thing as Principle in the World; the World is therefore not governed by Principle.

G

I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *September* 16, 1721. No. 45,

Of the Equality and Inequality of Men.

SIR,

MEN are naturally equal, and none ever roſe above the reſt but by Force or Conſent: No Man was ever born above all the reſt, nor below them all; and therefore there never was any Man in the World ſo good or ſo bad, ſo high or ſo low, but he had his Fellow. Nature is a kind and benevolent Parent; ſhe conſtitutes no particular Favourites with Endowments and Privileges above the reſt; but for the moſt part ſends all her Offſpring into the World furniſhed with the Elements of Underſtanding and Strength to provide for themſelves: She gives them Heads to conſult their own Security, and Hands to execute their own Counſels; and according to the Uſe that they make of their Faculties, and of the Opportunities that they find, Degrees of Power and Names of Diſtinction grow amongſt them, and their natural Equality is loſt.

Thus Nature, who is their Parent, deals with Men: But Fortune, who is their Nurſe, is not ſo benevolent and impartial; ſhe acts wantonly and capriciouſly, often cruelly; and counterplotting Juſtice as well as Nature, frequently ſets the Fool above the wiſe Man, and the beſt below the worſt.

And from hence it is, that the moſt Part of the World, attending much more to the noiſy Conduct and glaring Effects of Fortune, than to the

the quiet and regular Proceedings of Nature, are miſled in their Judgment upon this Subject: They confound Fortune with Nature, and too often aſcribe to Natural Merit and Excellency the Works of Contrivance or Chance. This, however, ſhews that Reaſon and Equity run in our Heads, while we endeavour to find a juſt Cauſe for Things that are not juſt; and this is the Source of the Reverence which we pay to Men whom Fortune ſometimes lifts on high, though Nature had placed them below. The Populace rarely ſee any Creature riſe, but they find a Reaſon for it in his Parts; when probably the true one will be found in his own Baſeneſs, or another Man's Folly.

From the ſame Reaſoning may be ſeen why it is, that, let who will be at the Head of a Party, he is always extolled by his Party as ſuperior to the reſt of Mankind; and let who will be the firſt Man of his Country, he will never fail being complimented by Many as the firſt of his Species. But the Iſſue and their own Behaviour conſtantly ſhew that the higheſt are upon a level with the reſt, and often with the loweſt. Men that are high are almoſt ever ſeen in a falſe Light; the moſt Part ſee them at a great Diſtance, and through a magnifying Medium; ſome are dazled with their Splendor, many are awed by their Power. Whatever appears ſhining or terrible appears great, and is magnified by the Eye and the Imagination.

That Nature has made Men equal, we know and feel; and when People come to think otherwiſe, there is no Exceſs of Folly and Superſtition which they may not be brought to practiſe. Thus they have made Gods of dead Men, and

paid

paid divine Honours to many while they were yet living: They ſaw them to be but Men, yet they worſhipped them as Gods. And even they who have not gone quite ſo far, have yet, by their wild Notions of Inequality, done as much Miſchief; they have made Men, and often wicked Men, to be Vice-Gods; and then made God's Power (falſly ſo called) as irreſiſtible in the Hands of Men as in his own, and much more frightful.

It is evident to common Senſe, that there ought to be no Inequality in Society, but for the ſake of Society; but theſe Men have made one Man's Power and Will the Cauſe of all Men's Miſery. They gave him as far as they could the Power of God, without obliging him to practiſe the Mercy and Goodneſs of God.

Thoſe that think themſelves furtheſt above the reſt, are generally by their Education below them all. They are debaſed by a Conceit of their Greatneſs: They truſt to their Blood, which, ſpeaking naturally, gives them no Advantage; and neglect their Mind, which alone, by proper Improvements, ſets one Man above another. It is not Blood or Nature, but Art or Accident, which makes one Man excel others. *Ariſtotle*, therefore, muſt either have been in Jeſt, when he ſaid, that he, who naturally excelled all others, ought to govern all; or ſaid it to flatter his Pupil and Prince, *Alexander* the Great. It is certain that ſuch a Man never yet was found in the World, and never will be found till the End of it. *Alexander* himſelf, notwithſtanding the Greatneſs of his Spirit, and his Conqueſts, had in his own Army, and perhaps among the common Soldiers, Men

Men naturally as great and brave as himſelf, and many more wiſe.

Whoever pretends to be naturally ſuperior to other Men, claims from Nature what ſhe never gave to any Man. He ſets up for being more than a Man; a Character with which Nature has nothing to do. She has thrown her Gifts in common amongſt us; and as the higheſt Offices of Nature fall to the Share of the Mean as well as of the Great, her vileſt Offices are performed by the Great as well as by the Mean: Death and Diſeaſes are the Portion of Kings as well as of Clowns; and the Corpſe of a Monarch is no more exempted from Stench and Putrefaction, than the Corpſe of a Slave.

Mors æquo pulſat pede.

All the Arts and Endowments of Men to acquire Preheminence and Advantages over one another, are ſo many Proofs and Confeſſions that they have not ſuch Preheminence and Advantages from Nature; and all their Pomp, Titles, and Wealth, are Means and Devices to make the World think that they who poſſeſs them are ſuperior in Merit to thoſe that want them. But it is not much to the Glory of the upper Part of Mankind, that their boaſted and ſuperior Merit is often the Work of Heralds, Artificers, and Money; and that many derive their whole Stock of Fame from Anceſtors, who lived an Age or many Ages ago.

The firſt Founders of great Families were not always Men of Virtue or Parts; and where they were ſo, thoſe that came after them did frequently, and almoſt generally, by truſting to their Blood, diſgrace their Name. Such is the Folly

of

of the World, and the Inconvenience to Society, to allow Men to be great by Proxy! An Evil that can ſcarce ever be cured. The Race of *French* Kings, called by their Hiſtorians in Contempt, *Les Roies faineants*, and the Succeſſion of the *Roman Cæſars*, (in both which, for one good Prince they had ten that were intolerable, either for Folly or Cruelty, and often for both) might be mentioned as known Proofs of the above Truth; and every Reader will find in his own Memory many more.

I have been told of a Prince, who, while yet under Age, being reproved by his Governor for doing Things ill or indecent, uſed to anſwer, *Je ſuis Roy, I am King*; as if his Quality had altered the Nature of Things, and he himſelf had been better than other Men, while he acted worſe. But he ſpoke from that Spirit which had been inſtilled into him from his Cradle. *I am King!* What then, Sir? The Office of a King is not to do Evil, but to prevent it. You have Royal Blood in your Veins: But the Blood of your Page is, without being Royal, as good as yours; or, if you doubt, try the Difference in a Couple of Porringers, next Time you are ill; and learn from this Conſideration and Experiment, that by Nature you are no better than your People, though ſubject from your Fortune to be worſe, as many of your Anceſtors have been.

If my Father got an Eſtate and Title by Law or the Sword, I may by Virtue of his Will or his Patent enjoy his Acquiſition; but if I underſtand neither Law nor the Sword, I can derive Honour from neither: My Honour therefore is, in the Reaſon

Reaſon of Things, purely Nominal; and I am ſtill by Nature a *Plebeian*, as all Men are.

There is nothing moral in Blood, or in Title, or in Place: Actions only, and the Cauſes that produce them, are moral. He therefore is beſt that does beſt. Noble Blood prevents neither Folly, nor Lunacy, nor Crimes; but frequently begets or promotes them: And Noblemen, who act infamouſly, derive no Honour from virtuous Anceſtors, whom they diſhonour. A Man who does baſe Things, is not noble; nor great, if he do little Things: A ſober Villager is a better Man than a debauched Lord; an honeſt Mechanick, than a knaviſh Courtier.

—— *Nobilitas ſola eſt atque unica Virtus.*

Prima mihi debes animi bona; Sanctus haberi
Juſtitiæque tenax factis, dictiſque mereris?
Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.

We cannot bring more natural Advantages into the World, than other Men do; but we can acquire more Virtue in it than we generally acquire. To be great, is not in every Man's Power; but to be good, is in the Power of all: Thus far every Man may be upon a Level with another, the loweſt with the higheſt; and Men might thus come to be morally as well as naturally equal.

G

I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *September* 23, 1721. No. 46.

Of the falſe Guiſes which Men put on, and their ill Effect.

SIR,

MEN are often capable of doing as much, whether it be Good or Evil, by the Appearance of Parts, as by poſſeſſing them; and become really conſiderable by being thought ſo. Some, by pretending to great Intereſt with the Gods, have gained great Intereſt among Men; and plagued the Earth, to prove themſelves Favourites of Heaven: Others grow great at Court, by being thought great in a Party; and grow at the ſame time great in a Party, by being thought great at Court: Twice Liars, they meet with the double Wages of Lying.

Thus is the World deceived; a Thing ſo eaſily done, that rarely any Man ſets about it but he ſucceeds in it, let his Parts be ever ſo ſcanty or ſtarved. Murtherers have paſſed for Saints, Buffoons for Wits, and ſolemn Dunces for wiſe Men.

I have been often provoked to ſee a whole Aſſembly, ſometimes neither contemptible for Number, nor Figure, nor Senſe, give themſelves up to the Guidance and Management of a ſilly ignorant Fellow, important only in Grimace and Aſſurance: Nay, Parties, potent Parties, generally throw themſelves into the Hands and Direction of Men, who, though they chop them and ſell them, yet want every Talent for this ſort of Negotiation, but what they poſſeſs in the Credulity of thoſe

thoſe that truſt them. This is their beſt Qualification, and it is ſufficient. Theſe are the *Sidrophils*, the cunning Men in Parties, as ignorant as thoſe in *Moorfields*; they only know more than thoſe whom they deceive, by pretending to more.

The Affectation of Wiſdom is a prevailing Folly in the World; Men fall naturally into the Practice of it; and it would be pardonable, as it is common, if it went no further than the aiming at a little Notice and Reverence, which every Body may be innocently fond of. But when Men ſeek Credit this Way, in order to betray, and make uſe of their Grimaces as a Trap to deceive; when they turn their Admirers into Followers, and their Followers into Money; then appearing Wiſdom becomes real Villainy, and theſe Pretenders grow dangerous Impoſtors.

And this is what Men frequently get by truſting more to the Underſtanding of others than to their own, though often the better of the two; and therefore we find in many Inſtances, that Fools miſlead and govern Men of Senſe. In Things where Men know nothing, they are apt to think that others know more than they, and ſo blindly truſt to bold Pretenſions; and here is the great Cauſe and firſt Riſe of Sharpers and Bubbles of all Denominations, from Demagogues and their Followers, down to Mountebanks and their Mobbs.

I think that there is not a more fooliſh Figure in the World than a Man affectedly wiſe: But it is not every Body that ſees it; and ſuch a one is often the Admiration of one ſort of People, and the Jeſt of another, at the ſame Time. Where we ſee much of the Outſide of Wiſdom, it is a ſhrewd

ſhrewd Sign that there is but little within; becauſe they who have the leaſt often make the greateſt Shew: As the greateſt Hypocrites are the loudeſt Prayers.

The Inſide of ſuch a Man is not worth knowing; and every Man muſt have obſerved his Outſide: His Words fall from him with an uncommon Weight and Solemnity; his Gate is ſtately and ſlow, and his Garb has a Turn in it of Prudence and Gravity, of which he that made it is the Author, and by that Means becomes a conſiderable Inſtrument and Artificer of Wiſdom.

This will be better illuſtrated in the Character of Lord *Plauſible*, who having long ſet up for a wiſe Man, and taking Eloquence to be the moſt effectual Sign of Wiſdom, is an Orator and a wiſe Man in every Circumſtance of his Life, and to every Body; he is eloquent to his Footman, to his Children, and at his Table. Lord *Plauſible* never converſes; no, talking careleſly as other People do, would not be wiſe enough; he therefore does not converſe in Company, but make Speeches; he meditates Speeches in his Cloſet, and pronounces them where he viſits. Even while he drinks Tea, or plays at Cards, his Language is lofty and ſounding; and in his Gate you ſee the ſame Sublime as in his Words. Add to all this, an unrelenting Gravity in his Looks, only now and then ſoftened by a ſtudied Smile. He never laughs without checking his Muſcles: Mirth would be a Blot upon his Wiſdom; the good Man only creates Mirth in others.

Thus he grows important, without ſuffering in his Character for his natural Shallowneſs and acquired Folly, unſeen by the Bulk of his Party, who

who being for Underſtanding and Breeding pretty much in the lower Claſs, think him an Oracle, and believe him deep in the Counſels and Reverence of Great Men, who uſe him civilly and laugh at him.

As a Man can hardly be ſeverely juſt and conſtant to the Ways which he approves, without ſome Degree of Auſtereneſs, or what the World calls ſo; it is no Wonder if this Character, always eſteemed and often beloved, becomes mimicked by thoſe who have no Pretence to it. But I am at a Loſs whether it be more provoking or merry, to ſee Creatures ſetting up for Severity of Behaviour, without one Grain of Juſtice and Honour about them; pretending to Wiſdom, with great Conceit and Stupidity; complaiſant in every Step and Degree of Corruption, yet preſerving a Stiffneſs in their Behaviour, as if they were ſo many rigid *Stoicks*.

Quid? Si vultu torvo & pede nudo,
Exiguæque togæ ſimulet textore Catonem;
Virtutemque repreſentet moreſque Catonis.

There are Mimicks of Wiſdom and Virtue in all Ages, as well as in that of *Horace*.

A Man may be a Lord, or a Miniſter, or a conſiderable Man, without declaring War againſt Gaiety and Eaſineſs. But grave Fellows, who become grave to gain Importance, are by all Men of Senſe diſappointed. A wiſe Man may be a merry Fellow; and a very ſilly Fellow may be a very grave Man. The wiſeſt Men of my Acquaintance are the merrieſt Men that I know; nor could I ever find what Wiſdom had to do with an unpleaſing and rebuking Statelineſs, that con-

contradicts it. Mirth, and what theſe ſolemn Drones call Folly, is a Piece of Wiſdom which they want Senſe to know and practiſe. Beſides, there is a wiſe Way of playing the Fool, which wiſe Men know how to practiſe without loſing their Character. But your grave Fellows are perhaps afraid of playing the Fool, becauſe they would do it too naturally; yet even that would be better than being thus ridiculouſly wiſe againſt Nature.

Some Mens natural Heavineſs paſſes for Wiſdom, and they are admired for being Blockheads. Sometimes forced Gravity does the ſame Thing. Nor is it any thing new to place Wiſdom in Grimace; many of the old Philoſophers did the ſame, and made their long Beards, in particular, an eminent Type of it.

—Juſſit ſapientem paſcere barbam.

Doubtleſs, like others who have lived ſince, they often poſſeſſed the Sign only. The Schoolmen were reckoned deep and wiſe Men, for talking unintelligibly, and their Wiſdom was Jargon and Obſcurity.

They that are really wiſe, need not take much Pains to be thought ſo; and they that do, are not really wiſe. We cannot live always upon the Stretch, either of Silence, or of Eloquence, or of Gaiety; and whoever endeavours it, ſhews his Folly while he ſeeks Renown.

A Man of great Quality and Age, and of great Reputation for Wiſdom, being once ſurprized by a foreign Miniſter, while he was at play with his little Children, was ſo far from confeſſing any Shame for being thus caught indulging the Fancy and

and Fondneſs of a Father, that he told the Ambaſſador, who ſeemed to have found what he did not expect: "Sir, be in no Pain for me; he "who is accounted a wiſe Man in the Morning, "will never be reckoned a Fool at Night." This is, no doubt, true of a Man truly wiſe. But it is as true, that many Men have paſſed for wiſe Men in the Morning, who have been found Fools before Noon.

Men, affectedly wiſe, need only be examined to be deſpiſed; and we find by Experience, that ſtarched Gravity creates more Jeſt and Laughter amongſt Men of Senſe, who are generally frank and pleaſant Men, than the moſt remarkable Levity and Giddineſs can do. The Reverence therefore paid to ſuch Men, if it be real, is conſtantly the Effect of Ignorance: We admire them at a diſtance; but when we ſee them a little nearer, we begin to admire at our own Admiration.

But ſuch Examination is never like to be very popular, and conſequently ſuch Diſcoveries are not like to be very formidable; the Multitude will never make them. There will be always a great deal in reſolving to be great and wiſe, and great Succeſs will be ever attending it: *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*, is at all Times a ſafe Way of Reaſoning. And hence Drones and Coxcombs will, by a falſe Shew of Wiſdom, be always bidding fair for the Reputation of Wiſdom, and often for its Rewards. This is more eaſily ſhewn, than mended.

G

I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *October* 7, 1721. No. 47.

Of the Frailty and Uncertainty of human Judgment.

SIR,

HUman Judgment is the beſt and ſureſt Guide that we have to follow in Affairs that are human; and even in Spirituals, where the immediate Word of God interpoſes not. But it is ſo liable to be corrupted and weighed down by the Biaſſes that Paſſion, Deluſion, and Intereſt hang upon it, that we ought never to truſt without Caution and Examination, either to our own or that of others.

Men are hardly ever brought to think themſelves deceived in contending for Points of Intereſt or Pleaſure. But as it is rare that one Man's Purſuits do not croſs and interfere with the Purſuits of others, and as every Man contends for the Reaſonableneſs of his own; though it muſt be in the Nature of Things, that they may be both in the Wrong, and only one can be in the Right; hence it proceeds that Men, who are ſo naturally alike, become morally ſo unlike, that ſometimes there is more Reſemblance between a Man and a Wolf, than between one Man and another; and that one and the ſame Man is not one and the ſame Man in two different Stations.

The Difference therefore between one Man's Judgment and another's, ariſes not ſo much from the natural Difference between them; though that too, the Structure of their Organs being different,

may beget different Sentiments; as from the Difference of their Education, their Situation and Views, and other external Cauſes.

Men, who in private Life were Juſt, Modeſt and Good, have been obſerved, upon their Elevation into high Places, to have left all their virtuous and beneficent Qualities behind them, and to have acted afterwards upon a new Spirit, of Arrogance, Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. And yet, perhaps, their latter Actions had as much the Sanction of their own Judgment as their firſt.

England could not boaſt of a greater Patriot than the great Earl of *Strafford*, while he was yet a private Commoner. No Man expoſed better, or more zealouſly, the Encroachments and Oppreſſions practiſed by the Court upon the Kingdom, or contended more loudly for a Redreſs of Grievances: But he was no ſooner got into the Court, but he began openly to counteract the whole Courſe of his paſt Life: He deviſed new Ways of Terror and Oppreſſion, heightened all thoſe Grievances of which he had complained; and, as the excellent Lord *Falkland* ſaid of him in the Houſe of Commons, The Oppreſſions which he committed *were ſo Various, ſo Many, and ſo Mighty, as were never committed by any Governor in any Government ſince* Verres *left* Sicily. But though the two great Parts of his Life were thus prodigiouſly Inconſiſtent, I do not remember that he ever condemned the Worſt, though he ſuffered for it, or recanted the Beſt. It is probable, that his Judgment in both Caſes approved his Conduct.

Nor is the Judgment of Men varied by great and conſiderable Cauſes only; to the Diſgrace of our Reaſon we muſt own, that little ones do it as effectually.

effectually. A wiſe Man ruffled by an Accident, or heated by Liquor, ſhall talk and act like a Madman or a Fool; as a Madman, with a little Soothing and Management, ſhall talk like a wiſe Man: And there are Inſtances of very able Men, who, having done great Service to their Prince and Country, have undone it all from Motives that are ſhameful to mention —— Perhaps they miſſed a Smile from him, when they expected one, or met with a ſatyrical Jeſt when they expected none; and thus piqued by a little real Mirth or fancied Neglect, they have run into all the Exceſſes of Diſloyalty and Rebellion, and either ruined their Country, or themſelves and their Families, in attempting it: Others, miſled by a gracious Nod, or a Squeeze by the Hand, or a few fair Promiſes no better than either, have, by running all the contrary Lengths of Complaiſance and Subſerviency, done as much Miſchief to their Country, without intending it any, and perhaps thinking that they did it none. There are Examples of the ſame Men practiſing both theſe Extremes.

So mechanical a Thing is human Judgment! So eaſily is the human Machine diſconcerted and put out of its Tone! And the Mind ſubſiſting in it, and acting by it, is calm or ruffled as its Vehicle is ſo. But though the various Accidents and Diſorders happening to the Body, are the certain Cauſes of Diſorders and irregular Operations in the Mind; yet Cauſes that are internal affect it ſtill more; I mean the Stimulations of Ambition, Revenge, Luſt and Avarice. Theſe are the great Cauſes of the ſeveral irregular and vicious Purſuits of Men.

Neither is it to be expected that Men diſagreeing in Intereſt, will ever agree in Judgment. Wrong, with Advantages attending it, will be turned into Right, Falſhood into Truth; and, *as often as Reaſon is againſt a Man, a Man will be againſt Reaſon:* And both Truth and Right, when they thwart the Intereſts and Paſſions of Men, will be uſed like Enemies, and called Names.

It is remakable that Men, when they differ in any Thing conſiderable, or which they think conſiderable, will be apt to differ in almoſt every Thing elſe. Their Differences beget Contradiction, Contradiction begets Heat, Heat quickly riſes into Reſentment, Rage, and Ill-Will. Thus they differ in Affections as they differ in Judgment; and the Contention which began in Pride, ends in Anger.

The acquieſcing ſincerely in the Judgment of another, without the Concurrence of our own, and without any Advantage real or fancied, moving us to ſuch Acquieſcence, is a Compliment which I do not know that one Man ever paid to another: An unanſwerable Argument, why no Man ſhould be provoked at thoſe whom he cannot convince, ſince they, having Reaſons, or thinking that they have Reaſons, on the contrary Side, as ſtrong as his, or ſtronger, have as much Cauſe to be provoked with him for not acquieſcing in theirs. Yet there are but few Debates of Conſequence in this World, where the Arguments are not ſeconded by Wrath, and often ſupplied by it.

But this is not the Way of dealing with Men; nor is there any other Way of perſuading them into your Judgment, but by ſhewing it their Intereſt. Their Minds are ſo corrupted by their Appetites,

Appetites, that, generally ſpeaking, their Judgment is nothing but their Intereſt in Theory; and their Intereſt is their Judgment reduced into Practice. This will account for the contradictory Parts which Men play, and the contrary Parties that they occaſionally chuſe. This ſerves them with Reaſons for the unreaſonable Things that they do, turns Roguery into Honeſty, Madneſs into Merit.

In Truth, whenever Men leave their own Judgment for the Judgment of others, as they ſometimes do, they either do it for Gain, or Glory, or Pleaſure, or for the avoiding of Shame, or ſome ſuch Cauſe; all which Motives are Intereſt, as is every Thing elſe that they do for their own Sakes. Thus Honeſty is often only the Fear of Infamy, and Honour the Appetite of Applauſe: Thus Men ruſh into Danger and Death, to gratify Love or Anger, or to acquire Fame: And thus they are faithful to their Word and Engagement, to avoid the Reproach of Treachery.

Men are ſo apt to link their Approbation to their Profit and Pleaſure, that their Intereſt, though ever ſo vile, abſurd, and unjuſtifiable, becomes really their Judgment. I do not think that human Art and Imagination could have invented Tenets more falſe and abominable, more chimerical or miſchievous, than are thoſe of the *Infallibility of the Pope*, and the *Irreſiſtibleneſs of Tyrants*; that is, That one Man, living in the hourly Practice of Error, or Vice, or Folly, and often of them all, ſhall judge for the whole Earth, and do what God has not done; that is, faſhion the Minds of all human Race like his own, and make them his Sacrifices where he cannot make them

his Slaves: And that another Man ſhall have a divine Right to repreſent God and govern Man, by acting againſt God and deſtroying Man.

Theſe are ſuch monſtrous Abſurdities, ſuch terrible, ridiculous, and inhuman Inventions, as could ariſe from nothing but Pride and Avarice on one Side, and Fear and Flattery on the other; and could be defended by nothing but the moſt brutiſh Force, or the moſt abandoned Impudence. Yet we have ſeen theſe monſtrous Abſurdities defended, and God Almighty declared their Defender; even him, who is the God of Mercy and Truth, made, blaſphemouſly, the Author of Cruelty and Lies.

In this Light do theſe Things appear to one who conſiders them without embarking in them, and receiving any Advantage from them. But thoſe who gain or ſubſiſt by them, ſee them in a different Light: I doubt not but their Judgment, as they call it, does actually blend with their Intereſt, or for the moſt part does; and therefore they are really in earneſt in maintaining it. Folly, Falſhood, and Villainy, are no longer called by their own Names, nor thought to deſerve them, by thoſe that reap Advantages from them. Even thoſe, who have practiſed the greateſt of all Evils, even that of deſtroying God's People, have thought that in doing it they did God good Service. Our Bleſſed Saviour foretold it, and his Words have been fulfilling ever ſince, and perhaps will be till he return.

Oliver Cromwell ſought God in all his Oppreſſions; and though I am ſure that he was an Uſurper, I am not ſure that he was a Hypocrite, at leaſt all along; though it is moſt probable that he was one

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at firſt. But he had ſo long perſonated a Saint, that he ſeems at laſt to have thought himſelf one; and when he ſaw his latter End approaching, he was ſo far from ſhewing any Compunction for the Part which he had acted, that he, on the contrary, boaſted that he had been the Cauſe of much Good to this Nation; and added ſuch Ejaculations and Prayers, as ſhewed that he poſſeſſed his Mind in Peace, and was not without Confidence in God.

The Emperor of *Morocco*, than whom a more inhuman Butcher never lived, makes God the Author of all his Barbarities; and when he murders a Slave (as he does every Day ſome) out of Wantonneſs or Wrath, he lifts up his Eyes and ſays, *'Tis God that does it:* No Man talks more of God and Religion, and he certainly thinks himſelf a moſt religious Man.

Let all this ſerve to ſhew, how little Men's Judgment is to be truſted when Intereſt follows it, and is probably both the Cauſe and the Effect. Let it abate our Confidence in particular Men, who may make our Truſt in Them the Means of their miſleading Us: Let us learn to believe no Man the more, for that he believes himſelf; ſince Men are as obſtinate in Error, eſpecially in gainful Error, as they are in Truth; and more ſo, where Truth is not gainful: And laſtly, let us ſwallow no Man's Judgment, without judging of it and him; and yield up our Reaſon to no Man's Authority, nor our Intereſt to any Man's Direction, any farther than Prudence or Neceſſity obliges us. Let us remember what the World has ever got by implicit Faith of any Kind whatſoever.

G.

SATURDAY, *October* 14, 1721. No. 48.

The general unhappy State of the World, from the Baſeneſs and Iniquity of its Governors in moſt Countries.

SIR,

WHILE I have been reading Hiſtory, or conſidering the State of human Affairs, how wofully they are neglected, how fooliſhly managed, or how wickedly diſconcerted and confounded, in the moſt and beſt Countries: When I have remembered how large, every where, is the Source of Miſchief, how eaſily it is ſet a running, and how plentifully it flows; how it is daily breaking into new Channels, and yet none of the old ones are ever ſuffered to wax dry; I have been apt to wonder, that the general Condition of Mankind, though already vaſtly unhappy, is not ſtill worſe.

Pope *Æneas Sylvius* muſt have had ſuch Reflections as theſe, when he ſaid, that *This World did, in a great Meaſure, govern itſelf.* He had many Examples before his Eyes, how eaſy it was to govern wretchedly, and yet continue to govern. The Papacy itſelf might particularly have furniſhed him with many Examples. It is a Fairy Dominion, founded upon Non-Entities, Inventions, and Abominations; ſupported by Lies and Terrors; exerciſed with Cruelty, Craft, and Rapine; and producing Meanneſs, Deluſion, and Poverty, wherever it prevails.

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What could appear more ſtrange, incredible and ſhameful, than to ſee a mean Monk, reſiding in a Corner of the World, and ruling and plundering it all; living in Crimes, Pride, and Folly, and controuling *Chriſtendom* by the Sounds of Humility, Holineſs, and Infallibility; ſubſiſting upon the Spoils and Induſtry of Nations, and engaging Nations in a blind Conſpiracy againſt themſelves, for the Defence of their Oppreſſor; pronouncing the Peace of God to Mankind, and animating Mankind to continual Quarrels and Slaughters; declaring himſelf the Vicar of Chriſt, and making unrelenting War againſt the Followers of Chriſt; and, finally, the Father of *Chriſtendom*, and the Deſtroyer of Chriſtians.

All this Villainy and Impudence was obvious to common Senſe, and felt by long Experience. But how little do Men ſee, when they are taught to be afraid of their Eye-ſight! Even the *Reformation*, one of the greateſt Bleſſings that ever befel *Europe*, has but partially removed this mighty and enormous Uſurpation. The Root of the Evil ſtill remains; and Men are not yet weary of fighting about Words, Subtilties, Chimeras, and about the Shape of their Thoughts and Imagination; a Thing as much out of their own Power, as the Shape of their Limbs, or the Motion of the Winds: The Iſſue and Deſign of all which is, that their Leaders in Strife reap the Fruits of it, and gather the Spoils, the whole Spoils of thoſe Battles, in which Craft only blows the Trumpet, while Ignorance weilds the Sword, and runs all the Danger.

If in this, as in other Wars, none would fight but thoſe that are paid, or find their Account in

fighting, the Combatants would ſoon be reduced to a few; and they too would quickly leave a Field where there was no Booty.

Will the World never learn, that one Man's Corn grows not the worſe, becauſe another Man uſes different Words in his Devotion? That Pride and Anger, Wealth and Power, are of no Religion? And that Religion is inſeparable from Charity and Peace?

I am told, that the famous Combuſtion, raiſed ſome Years ago at *Hamburgh*, by one *Krumbultz*, a Divine, and in which that free City had like to have periſhed, was occaſioned by this momentous Queſtion, namely, whether in the Lord's Prayer we ſhould ſay, *Our Father*, or, *Father our* —— A hopeful Point of Debate, to be the Cauſe of Civil Diſſention, and a true Specimen of the Importance and Conſequences of Eccleſiaſtical Diſputes, and of the Spirit of thoſe that manage them!

It is a ſhameful Satire upon the Wickedneſs of ſome, and the Weakneſs of others, thus to endanger the Peace of Society and their own, for the Sake of a Sound; to be thus eager for Trifles; thus to concern Heaven and Earth in behalf of Conceits, which of themſelves concern neither: but, as they are generally managed, do both provoke God and hurt Men. But ſo it will ever be, as long as Men, in Poſſeſſion of Reverence, find their Ends and Gratifications in fetching knotty Diſtinctions out of the plain Word of God, and making them of equal Importance with it.

Thus unhappy has the greateſt Part of the World been, and is in its Ghoſtly Government; two Words which are a Contradiction to each other; ſince

ſince the Mind and Underſtanding, in which alone all Religion that is rational doth reſide, can never be altered or controuled by any other Means, than that of Counſel, Reaſoning, and Exhortation; which Method is utterly inconſiſtent with Force and poſitive Authority, as the ſame are implied in the Idea of Government.

Nor can I ſay, that Mankind have been more happy in their Civil Lot, and in the Adminiſtration of their Temporal Affairs; which are almoſt every where in a wretched Situation, and they themſelves under the Iron Hand of the Oppreſſor. The whole Terraqueous Globe cannot ſhew Five free Kingdoms; nor perhaps half ſo many Kings, who make the Eaſe and Proſperity of their People their Care.

In enſlaved Countries, (that is, in all Countries, except our own, and a very few more) the Good of the Governors is ſo far from entering into the Hearts and Counſels of the Governed; that it is oppoſite to the Genius of their Politicks, either to do them good, or to ſuffer them to acquire it for themſelves. Their Happineſs and Security, which are the very Ends of Magiſtracy, would be terrible to their Magiſtrates; who, being the publick Enemies of their Country, are forced, for their own Safety, to leave their People none.

How vile is that Government, and thoſe Governors, whoſe only Strength lies in Whips and Chains; a ſort of Inſtruments of Servitude, which it would much better become the Baſeneſs of theſe Mens Natures to wear themſelves, than to inflict upon others! A Prince of Slaves is a Slave; he is only the biggeſt and the worſt; juſt as the Chief of the Banditti is one of them. Such a Prince is

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but a National Executioner, and for a Scepter he carries a bloody Knife.

Such, for the moſt part, by far the moſt part, are the Governors of the World: They derive their whole Greatneſs, Plenty, Splendor, and Security, from the Miſery, Poverty, Peril, and Deſtruction of the Governed. Whoever makes juſt, equal, and impartial Laws, does, by doing ſo, but declare to the People, *Be Wicked at your Peril:* But he who rules them by Terrors and Standing Armies, does, in Effect, tell them in a terrible Tone, *Be Happy if you dare.*

Who, that has human Compaſſion, can help feeling the Sorrows of his wretched Race, and behold, unconcerned, the forlorn and abject State of Mankind? Monks deceiving, alarming, and ſpunging them; their Governors taxing, mulcting, and ſqueezing them; Soldiers haraſſing, oppreſſing, and butchering them! And, in ſhort, all the bitter Evils and crying Miſeries in human Power to inflict, deliberately and daily inflicted upon them! Nor do Things mend; on the contrary, the Miſchiefs and Misfortunes of the World grow hourly greater, and its Inhabitants thinner.

All theſe black Conſiderations would lead a Man, who had no other Spirit or Guide but that of Nature, to think that Providence, tempted by the Sins of Men, had long ago renounced them, or ſigned a Decree of Vengeance againſt them, which has ever ſince been dreadfully executed, and continues to be.

If one was to conſider Mankind in Theory only, his own Species would make no ſmall Figure in his Imagination; he would ſee them formed by a divine Hand, and according to a di-

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vine Model; poſſeſſed of all the Advantages of Strength and Contrivance, guided by Reaſon, made wiſe by Obſervation, and cautious by their own Foreſight and the Experience of others; directed by Laws and human Conſtitutions; rendered diſcerning by the frequent Trials of Good and Evil, and many of them enlightened by divine Revelation: He would ſee them Lords of the Creation, Arbiters of their own Condition and Felicity, inveſted with the Property and Uſe of Sea and Land, and with Dominion over every other Creature.

Thus Mankind appear in Speculation, powerful, wiſe, juſt, equal, and happy. But viewed in another Light, they make another Appearance. They uſe one another worſe than they do the Beaſts of the Field; and, by the wretched and monſtrous Œconomy and Government, almoſt every where found amongſt them, they would ſeem not to have more Underſtanding, as they have certainly leſs Happineſs. The Beaſts no where appoint or ſuffer one of their own Herd to monopolize the whole Soil, to engroſs every Advantage to himſelf, to deprive them of all, to kill and deſtroy, to diſperſe and to ſtarve them at his Pleaſure. Every one of them equally enjoys the Shelter and Paſture, the Air and the Water, which Nature makes common to them all.

But Men, their Maſters, cannot boaſt ſuch Security and Juſtice; they generally live at the mere Mercy of One, one of themſelves, whoſe Views ſuffer him to have no Mercy. He is often a Madman, often an Idiot, often a Deſtroyer; and the whole Art of his Government conſiſting in oppreſſing

preſſing and terrifying, no other Talent is required, but a mercileſs Spirit and brutal Force.

Such is an Arbitrary Prince, and the Deſcendants of *Adam* know few others. Sometimes a Creature is ſeen to ſtart into Imperial Power, whom the World never knew before, or knew only for his Infamy: Taken out of the Stews or out of a Dungeon, into a Throne; and without knowing how to rule himſelf, he rules an Empire; living a Recluſe, and ſeen by no Body, he governs all but the Women or Paraſites, who govern him; Millions of Men, and their Properties, are at the ſole Diſcretion of one who has none, and a Creature void of Humanity diſpoſes wantonly of a great Part of human Kind.

This is the diſmal State of all *Aſia* and of all *Africa*, except a few free Towns. The Spirit of their Monarchs, which is generally alike, may be ſeen in a Story (among many others) which *Knox* tells us of the King of *Ceilon*, who, being in Danger of drowning, was ſaved by the officious Affection or Ambition of one of his Slaves, who leaped into the Water, and ventured his own Life to preſerve his Maſter's. This, one would think, was the greateſt and moſt heroick Kindneſs that one Man could do another. But mark how the Monarch requites it! why, the firſt Thing he did after he came to himſelf, was to order the Belly of his Preſerver to be ripped up, for daring to touch the Perſon of his ſacred Majeſty.

Nature has prepared many Advantages and Pleaſures for the Uſe of Mankind, given them Taſte to enjoy them, and Sagacity to improve them: But their Governors, almoſt univerſally, fruſtrate the kind Purpoſes of Nature, render her Beneficence

cence abortive, and marr all human Happineſs. They have ſucceſsfully ſtudied the Arts of Miſery, and propagated the Practice.

It is a melancholy Reflection, that when human Affairs are put into a bad Way, where they do not ſpeedily recover, they never recover, or rarely ever. One great Reaſon is, that Power is always on the worſt Side, either promoting Miſchief, or preventing its Removal; and the Champions of Diſhoneſty and Oppreſſion are more artful and better paid, than the Patrons of Juſtice and Innocence.

It has hitherto been the good Fortune of *England*, (and I hope always will be) when Attempts have been made upon its Liberty, to recover it before it was gone, at leaſt before the Senſe of it was gone. And therefore it ſtill ſubſiſts in ſpight of all the powerful, popular, and ſanctified Attacks that have been made, and frequently made, upon it. Let us make much of it; while it remains, it will make us amends for all the Loſſes and Miſcarriages which we have fallen under, or may fall under, and will enable us to get the better of them. It is the Root of our Felicity, and all our Civil Advantages grow from it. By it we exceed almoſt all other Nations many more Degrees, than ſome of them exceed us in Sun and Soil: We are Men, and they are Slaves. Only Government founded upon Liberty, is a publick Bleſſing; without Liberty, it is a publick Curſe, and a publick Warrant for Depredation and Slaughter.

Let us therefore remember the mighty Difference between ourſelves and other Nations, and the glorious Cauſe of it, and always dearly cheriſh it. We are not the Prey of Monks, or Janizaries, or Dragoons,

Dragoons, nor the blind Slaves of unaccountable Will and Pleaſure. Our Lives and Properties are ſecured by the beſt Bulwark in the World, that of Laws, made by ourſelves, and executed by our Magiſtrates, who are likewiſe made by us; and when they are diſhoneſtly executed, or wilfully neglected, our Conſtitution affords a Remedy, a tried and a practicable Remedy. And as no Nation ever loſt its Liberty but by the Force of foreign Invaders, or the domeſtick Treachery of its own Magiſtrates; we have the Sea and a great Navy for our Defenders againſt the former; and Exorbitancies of the other are prevented or reſtrained by an excellent Counterpoiſe, in the Frame of our Legiſlature.

That we may be for ever able to boaſt of all theſe Bleſſings, theſe glorious and uncommon Bleſſings, is the cordial Wiſh and paſſionate Prayer of

G. *Your's*, &c.

SATURDAY, *October* 21, 1721. No. 49.

Of the Power of Prejudice.

SIR,

MEN boaſt of their Reaſon, and might juſtly, if they uſed it freely and applied it properly; but conſidering that generally in their moral Conduct, they are guided by ſuch Reaſons as are a Shame and a Contradiction to Reaſon, it ſeems to be thrown away upon them: Indeed, ſo little, or ſo wrong, is the Uſe which they make of it, that

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it would be really for their Reputation, if they had none.

But though the Many ſcarce uſe it at all, and none ſo much as they ought; yet every Man thinks he does, and never wants ſomething which he calls Reaſon, for the Juſtification of his Folly or Wickedneſs. Prejudice or Paſſion ſteps into its Room, takes its Name; and, under the Appearance of Reaſon, does Things which Reaſon abhors. And thus Reaſon, as well as Religion, is forced to furniſh its Enemies with Arms againſt itſelf; and the Abuſe of it is worſe and more dangerous than the abſolute Want of it; as an Idiot is leſs terrible and leſs odious than a Knave, and as a harmleſs *Pagan* is a much more amiable Character than an outrageous perſecuting Bigot. So that as no Religion at all is better than a miſchievous Religion; that is to ſay, any Religion that prompts Men to hurt one another; ſo the Abſence or Inactivity of the Faculties, is better than the Quickneſs of Faculties wickedly applied.

Of all the many falſe Lights that miſlead Men from their Reaſon, Prejudice is one of the foremoſt and ſucceſsful; and though no two Things upon Earth are more oppoſite in their Natures, or more deſtructive of each other, than Reaſon and Prejudice are; yet they are often made to paſs for each other: And as ſome Men will give you very good Reaſons for their being in the wrong themſelves; there are thoſe too, who will give you as good, why others ſhould not be in the right; that is, the Prejudices of ſome would be thought Wiſdom, and the Wiſdom of others is miſ-called Prejudice. The worſt Things that Men do, called by a good Name, paſs for the beſt; and the beſt,

beſt, blackened by an ill Name, paſs for the worſt. Such is the Force of Prejudice in the World, and ſo ſucceſsfully does this Foe to Reaſon ape Reaſon!

Prejudice is an obſtinate and unreaſonable Attachment to an Opinion, ſupported only by a Wilfulneſs to maintain it, whether regarding Men or Things; it links the good with the bad, the bad with the good, and hates or loves by the Lump. Thus if a Man be called a Saint, his worſt Actions are ſainted with him; his very Ignorance and Cruelty, and even his Dirtineſs and his Dreams, are made ſacred and meritorious; as may be ſeen at large in the *Romiſh* Legends, where the principal Qualification for Saintſhip ſeems to have conſiſted in ſtark raving Madneſs, and in an implacable and bloody Fury towards all Senſe and Sobriety. And thus, even with us, if a Man paſſes for a good Man, his bad Deeds are often thought good ones, by thoſe that think him ſo, and only becauſe they think him ſo.

On the other Side, if a Man be called an *Atheiſt*, the Odium of that Name, where it is believed true, is made a Blot upon his beſt Actions and greateſt Virtue, and to defeat them as well as ſoil them. That there are ſuch Men as *Atheiſts*, can only be imagined by thoſe, who, doubting of a Deity themſelves, may naturally enough ſuppoſe that there are others who quite disbelieve One: For my own particular, I cannot think that there are any ſuch Men; but if there were, I cannot think that Truth and Sobriety in an *Atheiſt*, are worſe than in another Man. That Black is not White, and that Two and Two make Four, is as true out of the Mouth of an *Atheiſt*, as out of the Mouth

Mouth of an Apoſtle: A Penny given by an *Atheiſt* to a Beggar, is better Alms than a Half-penny given by a Believer; and the good Senſe of an *Atheiſt* is preferable to the Miſtakes of a good Chriſtian: In ſhort, whatever reputed *Atheiſts* do well, or ſpeak truly, is more to be imitated and credited, than what the greateſt Believers do wickedly, or ſay falſly; and even in the Buſineſs of bearing Teſtimony, or making a Report, in which Caſes the Credit and Reputation of the Witneſs gives ſome Weight, or none, to what he ſays, more Regard is to be had to the Word of an Unbeliever who has no Intereſt on either Side, than to the Word of a Believer who has.

So that as no Man is to be believed an Atheiſt, unleſs he be evidently proved one; which, where he himſelf denies it, can be done by God only; ſo neither are the good or bad Actions of an *Atheiſt* worſe, with reſpect to the World at leaſt, for his being one; though the Sin of a Saint is more ſinful than that of a *Pagan*. As it is therefore the blackeſt and moſt barbarous Villainy to charge any Man with Atheiſm, who is no *Atheiſt*; it is the greateſt Folly to think that any Man's Crimes are the leſs, for the Name of him that commits them; or that Truth is leſs or more Truth, for the ill or good Name of him that ſpeaks it.

Prejudice has long taught Men, contrary to all Reaſon, to think otherwiſe; and to conſider, not what was done or ſaid, but who were the Men that ſaid or did it.——A happy Expedient, I muſt own, to acquire Dominion, and to exerciſe it; and to keep, for that End, Mankind ignorant and baſe, as their Teachers and Governors too generally keep them! And therefore, in moſt Parts of

of the World, Truth is a capital Crime; and the *Pope* and *Mahomet*, the *Alcoran* and the *Maſs-Book*, and the like Sounds, with a competent Aſſiſtance of Fire and Sword, are ſufficient to convince and govern all true *Catholicks* and *Muſſelmen*.

But we live in a Land of Liberty; and have, I hope, well-nigh wiped off the Scandal of being led or animated by Noiſe and Names, as were many of our Forefathers; whoſe Reaſon, being in other Men's keeping, was generally turned upon them, and co-operated with other Cauſes towards keeping them in Bondage. They were decoyed or frighetned into Folly and Chains; ſome ſaw not their Condition, others wanted Courage or Power to mend it. But with Liberty, Light has ſprung in, and we have got rid of the Terrors and Deluſion occaſioned by ſolemn and ill ſounding Names; a ſort of Bugbears that frighten only in the dark: We have learned, that we are as fit to uſe our own Underſtandings, as they are whoſe Underſtandings are no better than ours; and that there is no Merit in Sounds, nor in thoſe Actions which a wicked Man may practiſe as well as a good Man, without departing from his Character.

True Learning and Prejudices cannot ſubſiſt together; and therefore, though in Societies of Pedants, little elſe is to be found but Prejudices, Bitterneſs, Ignorance, and Ill-breeding; I am amazed to hear, that in Societies of Gentlemen, formed for the promoting of Knowledge, and Liberty of Enquiry, a Province utterly inconſiſtent with the narrow Spirit of Prejudice, there are yet found Inſtances of the greateſt. I hope, however, that it is not true, what I am told, That

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the *Royal Society* refuſed admitting Mr. *Whiſton* and another ingenious Gentleman as Members, becauſe the One was an *Arian*, and the other a *Blaek*. Who would imagine, that natural Complexion or religious Opinions, could any way affect the Diſcovery of Foſſils and Cockleſhels, or the Improvement of Muſtard and Pickles? But I dare ſay, that this is only a Story raiſed, to bring that learned Body into Ridicule and Contempt: If it were true, it would juſtify the Jeſt made upon them by a Gentleman, who being asked by ſome of them, Whether he had a mind to be a Member? told them, *No, Gentlemen, 'tis impoſſible; you ſee I have a Mole on my Upper Lip; and I am ſubject to talk in my Sleep.*

It is ſcarce credible, but that we ſee it, how violently and ſhamefully Prejudice flies in the Face of Reaſon, and often gets the better of it, in Inſtances too where Reaſon ſeems to be ſtrongeſt and moſt obvious. I ſhall mention a remarkable one.

Alexander and *Cæſar* are never mentioned but with Applauſe, or thought of but as amiable Characters, and the true Patterns of Princes and Heroes, though it is certain that there never lived more wicked Men; they turned the World upſide down, and uſurped its Power; they paved their Way to Dominion with dead Bodies, and were the Oppreſſors and Butchers of human Race. Here is Fact, plain undeniable Fact, againſt Prejudice and Opinion.

Oliver Cromwel, on the contrary, is ſcarce ever mentioned but with Deteſtation, or thought of but as a Monſter; though it is as certain that he never did the hundredth Part of the Miſchief that

was

was done by either of the other Two. He had at leaſt as good a Right to *Great Britain* as they had to the Globe, and ruled it with more Equity and leſs Blood. He was, doubtleſs, an Uſurper, but a little one; and though wicked enough, really an innocent Man compared to them. Nor was he at all below them in Parts and Courage. What therefore is the Cauſe of this mighty and unjuſt Difference, where the leſſer Wickedneſs is moſt magnified, and leaſt excuſed, and where the blackeſt Criminals and the higheſt Uſurpers are admired and extolled?

There is yet one Effect of Prejudice more impious than all the reſt; I mean, the daring Preſumption of thoſe Men who wantonly apply the Judgments of God to others, and of calling thoſe Things Judgments which are not ſo. Probably nothing ever yet happened to one Man, but has happened to another, and a different Man: The Wicked live in as much Proſperity, and die with as few Agonies, as do the Righteous, who, I think, are allowed to be here below much the more unhappy of the Two. Who has told us, what God can only tell, that Misfortunes are Judgments, or that Death is one; That Death which is common to all Men? And as to the different and diſaſtrous Manners of Dying; have not Fire and Sword, Famine and Peſtilence, Poiſon and Torture, wild Beaſts and Accidents, deſtroyed as many good Men as evil Men?

How fooliſh and inſolent are we! When we are angry, unreaſonably angry with one another, we preſumptuouſly think that God, the good and all-wiſe God, is ſo too; by which we profanely ſuggeſt, that he is a Being as weak, ridiculous, and

and paſſionate as ourſelves. Whereas that often pleaſes God, which is hated by Man, and that which is really a Bleſſing is often thought a Curſe; and therefore ſome wickedly think the Judgment of God due to others for Things that entitle them rather to God's Favour. So wickedly do Men differ in their Sentiments and Affections!

They who call the Misfortunes of others Judgments upon them, plainly enough own, though not in Words, that they wiſh for Judgments upon others, or are glad when they happen. What can we ſay of ſuch an Antichriſtian Spirit as this?

When the Heathens were uppermoſt, they charged the Chriſtians with being the Cauſe of all the Evils and Misfortunes that befel the *Roman* Empire, ſuch as Inundations, Plagues, Earthquakes, and the like; and one of the Fathers writ a Book to prove, that all thoſe Things had been from the Beginning; and whoever makes the like Charge now againſt any Man, or Body of Men, may be ſilenced, if he has Modeſty, Senſe, or Shame in him, by the ſame Anſwer.

I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *October* 28, 1721. No. 50.

An Idea of the Turkiſh *Government, taken from Sir Paul Ricaut.*

SIR,

SIR *Paul Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire*, is what I have quoted before in theſe Letters: It is written with Fidelity and Judgment, and gives us a good Idea of that horrible and deſtroying Government; a Government fierce and inhuman, founded in Blood, ſupported by Barbarity; and a Government, that has a declared Enmity to all that is good and lovely in the Eyes of Mankind.

I have therefore tranſcribed the following Paſſage from him, to ſhew my Countrymen the abject, the deplorable Condition of that People, and the brutiſh and deſtructive Genius of their Government; and I do it with a benevolent View, to make them more and more in love with their own, and paſſionate for its Preſervation.

No Man's Authority is, or ought to be, of any Weight for or againſt Truth, when every Man ſees it, or may ſee it: But ſince weak Men, and they that are worſe, make a Difficulty of crediting the Reaſonings and Relations of any Men about any Thing, unleſs they know and approve his Opinions in every Thing, I think it not amiſs to acquaint my Readers, that Sir *Paul* was a ſincere Monarchy-man, and an unqueſtionable Friend to our Civil and Religious Eſtabliſhment; but having long ſeen the diſmal Terrors and Deſolations of

of Abſolute Monarchy, he could not help obſerving the infinite Diſtance between that and a limited one; as may be ſeen in the following Quotation.

For my own particular, I think it contrary to common Senſe to concern myſelf with the Character of a Writer, in thoſe Writings which do not concern his Character: And therefore in Matters of Reaſon or Fact, *Cicero* is as much regarded by me as Dr. *Tillotſon*, and I credit *Livy* as much as I do Dr. *Prideaux*. For this Reaſon, in reading Authors, Chriſtian or Heathen, Monarchical or Republican, I do not conſider their Syſtem, but their Senſe; which I ſhall therefore, as often as I ſee neceſſary, give in their own Words, where I cannot mend them: And as often as they ſpeak my Thoughts as well, or better than I could ſpeak them myſelf, I ſhall not ſcruple being beholden to them.

G *I am*, &c.

" HE that is an Eye-witneſs and ſtrict Obſer-
" ver of the various Changes and Chances
" in the Greatneſs, Honours, and Riches of the
" *Turks*, hath a lively Emblem before him of the
" Unconſtancy and Mutability of human Affairs.
" Fortune ſo ſtrangely ſports with this People,
" that a Comedy or a Tragedy on the Stage,
" with all its Scenes, is ſcarce ſooner opened or
" ended, than the Fate of divers great Men, who
" in the Day-time being exhaled into high Sub-
" limity by the powerful Rays of the *Sultan's*
" Favour, fall or vaniſh in the Night, like a Me-
" teor. The Reaſon hereof, if duly conſidered,
" may be of great Uſe as Things ſtand here;

" that is, the Power of the *Grand Signior*; for in " this Conſtitution, the Benefit of the Emperor " is conſulted before the Welfare of the People.

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" And this Courſe does not only evidence the " Power of the *Grand Signior*; but likewiſe en- " creaſes it: For none are advanced in theſe " Times to Office, but pay the *Grand Signior* " vaſt Sums of Money for it, according to the " Riches and Expectations of Profit from the " Charge. Some pay, as the *Baſhaws* of *Grand* " *Cairo* and *Babylon*, Three or Four Hundred " Thouſand Dollars upon paſſing the Commiſſion; " others One, others Two Hundred Thouſand; " ſome Fifty Thouſand, as their Places are more " or leſs conſiderable; and the Money is moſt " commonly taken up at Intereſt at 40 or 50 *per* " *Cent.* for the Year, and ſometimes at double, " when they are conſtrained to become Debtors " to the covetous Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*. So " that every one, at his firſt Entrance into Of- " fice, looks upon himſelf (as indeed he is) great- " ly indebted, and obliged by Juſtice or Injuſtice, " right or wrong, ſpeedily to disburthen himſelf " of the Debts, and improve his own Principal " in the World; and this Deſign muſt not be " long in Performance, leſt the haſty Edict over- " take him before the Work is done, and call " him to an Account for the Improvement of his " Talent.

" Taking then all Circumſtances together, the " covetous Diſpoſition of a *Turk*, the Cruelty " and Narrowneſs of Soul in thoſe Men com- " monly that are born and educated in Want; " think what Oppreſſion, what Rapine and Vio-

" lence

" lence muſt be exerciſed, to ſatisfy the Appetite " of theſe Men, who come famiſhed with im- " menſe Deſires and ſtrange Conſiderations to " ſatisfy! *Diu ſordidus, repentè dives mutationem " fortunæ malè regit, accenſis egeſtate longâ cupidi- " nibus immoderatus.* Tacit. So that Juſtice in its " common Courſe, is ſet to Sale; and it is very " rare, when any Law-Suit is in Hand, but Bar- " gains are made for the Sentence, and he hath " moſt Right, who hath moſt Money to make " him *rectus in curia*, and advance his Cauſe; " and it is the common Courſe for both Parties " at Difference, before they appear together in " Preſence of the Judge, to apply themſelves " ſingly to him, and try whoſe Donative and " Preſent hath the moſt in it of Temptation; " and it is no Wonder if corrupt Men exèrciſe " this kind of Trafficking with Juſtice, for ha- " ving before bought the Office, of conſequence " they muſt ſell the Fruit.

" Add hereunto a ſtrange kind of Facility in " the *Turks*, for a Trifle or ſmall Hire, to give " falſe Witneſs in any Caſe, eſpecially (and that " with a Word) when the Controverſy happens " between a Chriſtian and a *Turk*; and then the " Pretence is for the *Muſſelmanleek*, as they call " it; the Cauſe is religious, and hallows all Falſe- " neſs and Forgery in the Teſtimony. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

" This Conſideration and Practice made an " *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, upon renewing the Capi- " tulations, to inſert an Article of Caution againſt " the Teſtimony of *Turks*, as never to be admit- " ted or pleaded in any Court of *Turkiſh* Juſtice, " againſt the *Engliſh* Intereſt * * * * *

" In the Times of the beſt Emperors, when " Virtue and Deſerts were conſidered, and the " Empire flouriſhed and encreaſed, Men had Of- " fices conferred upon them for their Merits, and " good Services were rewarded freely and with " Bounty, without Sums of Money and Pay- " ments —— But now it is quite contrary, and " all Matters run out of Courſe; a manifeſt To- " ken, in my Opinion, of the Declenſion and " Decay of the Empire! ——— However, this " ſerves in part the great End of the Empire; for " *Baſhaws* and great Men, having a kind of a Ne- " ceſſity upon them to oppreſs their Subjects, the " People thereby loſe their Courage; and by con- " tinual Taxes and Seizures upon what they gain, " Poverty ſubdues their Spirits, and makes them " more patiently ſuffer all kind of Injuſtice and " Violence that can be offered them, without " Thoughts or Motion to Rebellion: And ſo the " Lord *Verulam* ſays in his Eſſays, That it is im- " poſſible for a People overladen with Taxes, " ever to become martial or valiant; for no Na- " tion can be the Lion's Whelp, and the Aſs " between two Burthens.

" By this Means the *Turk* preſerves ſo many " different ſorts of People, as he hath conquered, " in due Obedience, uſing no other Help than a " ſevere Hand, joined to all kind of Oppreſſion: " But ſuch as are *Turks*, and bear any Name of " Office or Degree in the Service of the Em- " pire, feel but part of this Oppreſſion, and live " with all Freedom, having their Spirits raiſed " by a Licence they attain to inſult over others " that dare not reſiſt them.

" But

" But the Iſſue and Concluſion of the Spoils " that theſe great Men make on Subjects, is very " remarkable: For as if God were pleaſed to " evidence his juſt Puniſhment more evidently and " plainly here than in other Sins, ſcarce any of " all theſe *Baſhaws* that have made haſte to be " rich, have eſcaped the *Grand Signior*'s Hands; " but he either wholly diveſts them of All, or " will ſhare the beſt Part of the Prey with them. " Amongſt whom I have obſerved none paſſes ſo " hardly as the *Baſhaws* of *Grand Cairo*, becauſe " it is the richeſt and moſt powerful of all the " Governments of this Empire; and ſo, either " in his Journey Home, or after his Return, he " loſes his Life by publick Command, or at leaſt " is rifled of his Goods as ill got, which are con- " demned to the *Grand Signior*'s Treaſury: And " it is ſtrange yet to ſee with what Heat theſe " Men labour to amaſs Riches, which they know " by often Experiences have proved but Collec- " tions for their Maſter; and only the Odium " and Curſes which the oppreſſed Wretches have " vented againſt their Rapine, remain to them- " ſelves. *Rebus ſecundis avidi, adverſis autem in-* " *cauti.* Tacit. * * * * * * * * * *

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" The *Turk* underſtands well how profitable it " is for the Conſtitution of his Eſtate, to uſe " evil Inſtruments, who may oppreſs and poll " his People, intending afterwards for himſelf " the whole Harveſt of their Labours; they re- " maining with their Hatred, while the Prince, " under Colour of performing Juſtice, procures " both Riches and Fame together.

" If it be ſuſpected that any great Man intends " to make Combuſtion or Mutiny in his Govern- " ment, or that his Wealth or natural Abilities " render him formidable, without further Inqui- " ſition or Scrutiny, all Diſcontent of the *Grand* " *Signior* is diſſembled, and perhaps a Horſe, or " Sword, or Sable Veſt, is reported to be pre- " ſented, and all fair Treatment is counterfeited, " till the Executioner gets the Bow-ſtring about " his Neck, and then they care not how rudely " they deal with him: Juſt like the Birds in *Plu-* " *tarch*, that beat the Cuckow, for fear that in " Time he ſhould become a Hawk.

" And to make more Room for the Multitude " of Officers that crowd for Preferments, and to " act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the " leaſt Noiſe; oftentimes when a great Perſonage " is removed from his Place of Truſt, and ſent " with a new Commiſſion to the Charge, per- " haps, of a greater Government; and though " he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair " Demonſtrations of Favour, yet before he hath " advanced Three Days in his Journey, triumph- " ing in the Multitude of his Servants and his late " Hopes, the fatal Command overtakes him, and, " without any Accuſation or Cauſe, other than " the Will of the *Sultan*, he is barbarouſly put to " Death, and his Body thrown into the Dirt of " a foreign and unknown Country, without So- " lemnity of Funeral or Monument; and he is " no ſooner in his Grave, than his Memory is " forgotten.

" Hence are apparent the Cauſes of the Decay " of Arts amongſt the *Turks*; and of the Neglect " and Want of Care in manuring and cultivating

" their

" their Lands; why their Houſes and private " Buildings are made ſlight, and not durable for " more than Ten or Twenty Years; why you " find there no delightful Orchards, and pleaſant " Gardens and Plantations; and why, in thoſe " Countries where Nature hath contributed ſo " much on her Part, there are no additional La- " bours of Art to complete all, and turn it into " a Paradiſe: For Men, knowing no certain " Heir, nor who ſhall ſucceed them in their La- " bours, contrive only for a few Years Enjoy- " ment. And moreover, Men are afraid of ſhew- " ing too much Oſtentation or Magnificence in " their Palaces, or Ingenuity in the Pleaſures of " their Gardens, leſt they ſhould bring on them " the ſame Fate that *Naboth*'s Vineyard occa- " ſioned to its Maſter. And therefore Men ne- " glect all Applications to the Studies of Arts and " Sciences, but only ſuch as are neceſſary to the " mere Courſe of Living: For the Fear and " Crime of being known to be rich, makes them " appear outwardly poor, and ſo become natu- " rally *Stoicks* and Philoſophers in all the Points " of a reſerved and cautious Life.

" And here I am at a ſtand, and cannot con- " clude, without contemplating a while, and " pleaſing myſelf with the Thoughts of the Bleſ- " ſedneſs, the Happineſs, the Liberty of my own " Country; where Men, under the Protection " and ſafe Influence of a gracious and the beſt " Prince in the World," (*He might with more Propriety have ſaid, the beſt Conſtitution in the World*) " enjoy and eat of the Fruit of their own " Labour; and purchaſe to themſelves, with Se-

" curity, Fields and Manors, and dare acknow-
" ledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp,
" and yet leave the Inheritance to their Poſterity.

SATURDAY, *November* 4, 1721. No. 51.

Popularity no Proof of Merit.

SIR,

POpularity is the Fondneſs and Applauſe of many, following the Perſon of one, who, in their Opinion, deſerves well of them; and it muſt doubtleſs be a ſenſible Pleaſure to him who enjoys it, if he enjoy it upon good Terms, and from reputable Cauſes: But where it is only to be acquired by deceiving Men with Words, or intoxicating them with Liquors, or purchaſing their Hearts with Bribes, a virtuous Man would rather be without it; and therefore virtuous Men have been rarely popular, except in the Beginning, or near the firſt Riſe of States, while they yet preſerved their Innocence.

Where Parties prevail, a principal Way to gain Popularity, is to act fooliſhly for one Side, and wickedly againſt the other: And therefore ſome publick Talkers have grown popular, by calling thoſe whom they diſliked by bitter and ill-bred Names; or by rioting and making a Noiſe for ſome Sounds, which they had taken a Liking to; or by inſulting and abuſing thoſe that affronted them, by being more ſober and ſenſible than themſelves: And ſome to be revenged on thoſe that never

never hurt them, have given themſelves up a blind Prey to certain Leaders, who deluded them, and ſold them, and yet earned popular Applauſe of them for ſo ſerving them.

So that Popularity is often but the Price which the People pay to their Chiefs, for deceiving and ſelling them: And this Price is ſo implicitly paid, that the very Vices and Fooleries of a popular Chief become popular too, and were perhaps amongſt the firſt Cauſes that made him ſo. Some Gentlemen of this Caſt, owe their Figure to the Weakneſs of their Heads, or the Strength of their Barrels; and grow conſiderable by their having ſmall Parts, or by drinking away thoſe that they have.

Theſe are the Inſtruments that cunning Men work with; and therefore ſometimes a Knave, who is not popular, ſhall get a weak Man, who is ſo, to do thoſe Things with Applauſe, for which he himſelf would be hated and condemned: And the Hand that executes ſhall be bleſſed, when the Head that contrives would be curſed, for one and the ſame Thing.

This ſhews that Names are principal Reaſons to determine the Multitude to popular Love and Hatred; and it proceeds not ſo much from their being untaught as ill taught: When they are inſtructed not to reaſon but to rage, not to judge but to miſtake, a better Diſcernment and wiſer Behaviour are not to be hoped from them.

Demetrius, and the other Craftſmen, Shrine-makers to *Diana*, at *Epheſus*, were more popular Men than St. *Paul*, and raiſed a Mob to confute his Arguments for Chriſtianity: For it had not yet entered in the Heads of the People, that Re-

ligion and Rage were contradictory Things, and that Antiquity and Reverence could not ſanctify Impiety, Falſhood, and Folly.

In like Manner, *Barabbas*, a Rioter and a Murderer, had more Votes to ſave him than our bleſſed Saviour had; who was thought, by that zealous, deluded, and outrageous People, to be the greater Criminal of the Two, for having told them ſober and ſaving Truth; which was new to them, though everlaſting in itſelf, and therefore condemned becauſe it was new.

Now, in neither of theſe Inſtances were the People, though they acted thus impiouſly and madly, originally in the Fault; but thoſe who taught them; and who, having for Religion taught them Trifles, Folly, and Fury, were alarmed by the rational and prevailing Doctrines of Mercy, Wiſdom, and Truth. They therefore blaſpheme againſt the Author of Truth, yet charge him with Blaſphemy. As to the Populace, they did as they were taught, and uttered the Cry which was put into their Mouths.

The People, when they are left to themſelves, and their own Underſtandings and Obſervation, will judge of Men by their good or bad Actions, and are capable of ſeparating Vice from Virtue, and the Juſt from the Unjuſt: And therefore, when their Government is not corrupted, the beſt and moſt virtuous Men will always be the moſt popular; and he who does beſt will be eſteemed beſt: But when ſtrong Liquor, or Money, or falſe Terrors intervene, and Government is turned into Faction; the Judgment of the People is vitiated, and worſe than none. They then prefer the worſt Men to the beſt, if they have ſtronger Drink,

Drink, or more Money, or are covered with any other falſe Merit, by thoſe whoſe Word they take, and whoſe Authority they ſubmit to; and the moſt popular Man is he who bribes higheſt, or impoſes upon them beſt.

That theſe Things are common and almoſt univerſal, is not ſtrange: Generally ſpeaking, wherever there is Power, there will be Faction; and wherever there is Money, there will be Corruption; ſo that the Heads of Faction, and the Promoters of Corruption, have from their very Characters, which ought to render them deteſtable, the Means of Popularity.

Who was better beloved at *Rome* than *Spurius Melius*, while he was meditating the Slavery of the *Roman* People? Who could ever boaſt ſuch potent Parties, ſuch numerous Followers, ſuch high Applauſe and Regard, ſuch Trophies and Statues, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* could boaſt; while they were overturning the State, oppreſſing Mankind, butchering one Half of the World, and putting Shackles upon the other? And, in fine, who was ever a greater Impoſtor, and a more admired Prophet, than *Mahomet* was? All theſe Men were Enemies to Liberty, Truth, and Peace, the Plagues and Scourges of the Earth; but they deceived and deſtroyed their People with their own Conſent, and by the higheſt Wickedneſs gained the higheſt Popularity.

The two Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Francis* and *Henry*, Father and Son, were the two moſt popular Men that ever *France* ſaw, and grew ſo by doing it more Miſchief than ever two Men till then had done. They were perpetually, during a Courſe of

of many Years, deſtroying its Peace, violating its Laws, uſurping its Authority, puſhing at the Crown, raiſing and carrying on Rebellions, committing Maſſacres, and filling it with Blood and Deſolation: They had no one publick End, and did no one publick Thing but what was pernicious to *France*, yet *France* adored them.

Whoever is the Author of a Civil War, is Author of all its cruel Conſequences, Plunders, Devaſtations, Burnings, Rapes, Slaughters, Oppreſſion, and Famine —— a frightful Catalogue of Crimes to lie at one Man's Door! yet both theſe Dukes had them all to anſwer for over and over, yet were vaſtly beloved. Even when they were dead, they continued the Authors of long publick Miſeries, by leaving their deſtructive Schemes and their Party behind them; a fierce, lawleſs, and powerful Party, that maintained the Civil War long after them, and having deſtroyed *Henry* the Third, was like to prove too hard even for the great *Henry* the Fourth; nor did he overcome it but by infinite Courage, Induſtry, and Patience, and the renouncing of his Religion: Nay, at laſt, his Murther was owing to the Spirit of the League, firſt concerted, and afterwards conſtantly headed and animated, by theſe two Dukes ſucceſſively.

Had ever any Country two greater Foes? yet were ever two Men greater Darlings of any Country? For *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe* particularly, he had ſo much the Hearts of the People, that their Paſſion for him ran not only to Dotage, but Idolatry; and they blaſphemed God, to do the Duke Honour: They worſhipped his Image; they invoked him in their Prayers; they touched religiouſly the Hem of his Garment, and with the ſame

ſame Spirit and Deſign rubbed their Beads upon his Clothes; nay, following him in Multitudes as he paſſed their Streets, ſaluted him with *Hoſannas to the Son of* David.

Thus they treated and adored this Idol; a lewd Man, a publick Incendiary and Deſtroyer, but repreſented to them as their Saviour —— He had for the Ends of Ambition put himſelf at the Head of the *Catholick* Cauſe, the ſureſt Warrant in the World for Miſchief and Homage!

Our good Fortune, or our better Conſtitution, has hitherto reſtrained us againſt our Will from running into all theſe Exceſſes of Diſtraction and Folly. But we have had our popular Idols too; wretched Idols, who could not furniſh us from their Parts or Reputation with one Reaſon for our Stupidity in admiring them. Sometimes paltry and turbulent Prieſts, deſtitute of all Virtue and Good-breeding, weak and immoral Patricians, or loud and ignorant Plebeians, have run away with our Reverence, without being able to merit our Eſteem; without Religion they have been popular in the Cauſe of Religion, and contended popularly for Loyalty by Faction and Rebellion.

To every Reader, Inſtances of this Nature will occur within his own Memory and Obſervation. To name them with the other great Names abovementioned, would be an Honour too mighty for them, who were but ſmall wicked Men, though greatly popular.

I have often remembered, with Compaſſion, an unfortunate Great Man ſtill living, but utterly ruined by his Popularity and falſe Friends. His Good-nature has been often mentioned, and is grown almoſt proverbial: Nor do I deny it; though

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by it he never ſerved himſelf, his Family, or the Publick. On the contrary, it has proved his Failing and his Crime. If one were to enquire for the Cauſes of his Popularity in the Probity of his Life, the Piety of his Mind, his publick Abilities, private Œconomy, or conjugal and domeſtick Virtues, theſe are Topicks upon which his Friends do not extol him: And for his Loyalty, take Loyalty in what Senſe you will, he will be found to have given prepoſterous Proofs of it, and to have been engaged in all the Depths of Rebellion and Perjury, and is ſtill engaged.

From what has been ſaid, it will not ſeem ſtrange that ſome of the moſt popular Men in the World have been the moſt miſchievous in their Behaviour and Opinions. What Fighting and Burning has there been for Tranſubſtantiation! what Declaiming, Damning, and Rebelling for Paſſive Obedience! what fierce Contention, and how many fooliſh Arguments for Perſecution! All which Opinions are a Contradiction to Religion and Scripture, an Affront to common Senſe, and utterly deſtructive of all civil and religious Liberty, and of all human Happineſs: Nor would any of them, or any like them, have ever entered into the Heart of any Man, unleſs he were firſt deceived, or found his Account in deceiving. But even Crimes, Contradictions, and Folly will be popular in a State, when they bring Gain or ſelfiſh Gratifications to thoſe, who are in Poſſeſſion of a Power to render Folly, Contradiction, and Crimes, advantageous to the pernicious Purſuits which they are engaged in.

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *November* 11, 1721. No. 52.

Of Divine Judgments, the Wickedneſs and Abſurdity of applying them to Men and Events.

SIR,

I Have in a former Letter to you, not long ſince, ſhewn the Raſhneſs of Men in applying to one another the Judgments of God. I ſhall in this conſider that Subject farther, and endeavour to cure that prevailing and uncharitable Spirit.

Almoſt all ſorts of Men pretend, in ſome Inſtances, to be in the Secrets of the Almighty, and will be finding out the unſearchable Purpoſes of his Providence; they will be prying into the hidden Things of God, and aſſigning ſuch Ends and Motives for his all-wiſe Diſpenſations, as are only ſuitable to their own Weakneſs, or Prejudices, or Malice: They give him the ſame Paſſions that they themſelves poſſeſs, and then make him love and hate what and whom they themſelves love and hate: They are pleaſed with Flattery and Sounds, and provoked by Trifles and Names, and ſo they think is he. And as they thus ſanctify all their own Doings, Affections, and Fancies with a Fiat and Approbation from Heaven, and belye and provoke God to make him their Friend; ſo they take it for granted that he is an Enemy to all their Enemies, and that therefore every Evil, or ſeeming Evil, that befals their Enemies, or thoſe whom they diſlike, is a manifeſt Judgment from God, and a Juſtification of whatever they can do againſt them:

them: So that God is often made the Author of every Miſchief which they themſelves commit; but they that feel it, think more rationally that they are animated by a contrary Spirit.

God made Man after his own Likeneſs, perfect, amiable, merciful, and upright; and Men are bold and fooliſh enough to make God after theirs; and almoſt every one has his own God, one faſhioned according to his own Temper, Imaginations, and Prejudices. In this Senſe they worſhip as many falſe Gods, as they have wrong Notions of the true one; and ſo in ſome ſort *Polytheiſm* does yet remain even in the Chriſtian World. They only agree in calling what they worſhip by the ſame Name; but they conceive him in ſuch a different Manner, they differ ſo widely about his Nature and Will, and either give him ſuch contradictory Attributes, or ſo contradict one another in explaining theſe Attributes, that it is plain they do not mean one and the ſame Being. Some make God hate what he certainly loves, others make him love what he certainly hates; and all take it amiſs if you think that they own and adore any God but the true God. But let them think what they will, many of them ſtill worſhip the old Gods of the Heathens, Gods that were delighted with Baubles, Shew, and Grimace, and with Cruelty, Revenge, and human Sacrifices.

From this miſtaken and impious Spirit it proceeds, that when Calamities and Diſaſters befal others, eſpecially thoſe that differ from us, we call them Judgments, and ſay that the Hand of God is againſt them: But when the ſame Evils or worſe befal ourſelves, the Stile is changed, and then *whom God loveth he chaſteneth*; or if we own them

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to be Judgments, yet ſtill they are Judgments upon us for other People's Sins.

Thus all the Misfortunes that happened to *Spain* for many hundred Years, whether they came from the Enemy or the Elements, were divine Judgments upon them for ſuffering the idolatrous *Moors* to inhabit that good Catholick Country; and therefore, like true Catholicks, they brought the greateſt Judgment of all upon it, by deſtroying and baniſhing that numerous and induſtrious People. Thus the bigotted *Pagans*, when *Alarick* King of the *Huns* ſacked *Rome*, charged the Chriſtians with being the Cauſe of that and of every other Calamity that befel the Empire: The Chriſtians deſpiſed their Gods, and therefore their Gods, out of a particular ſpite to the Chriſtians, afflicted the whole World with Miſeries; and ſo Plagues, Wars, Hurricanes, and Earthquakes, which were Evils that had been in the World from the Beginning of it, and will be to the End, were, notwithſtanding, all ſo many Judgments, occaſioned by the poor Chriſtians —— Hence the Beginning of Penalties, Severities, and Perſecutions againſt them; and thus the Chriſtians came in Time to return the Charge upon the Heathens, to uſe the ſame Way of Reaſoning, and to make the like Repriſals, and with as little Equity, Truth, or Clemency: And thus, laſtly, all Parties in Religion have ever dealt with one another.

We are commanded *not to judge, leſt we be judged*; and we are told that *Vengeance is the Lord's*, and that *Judgments are in his Hand*; all which are to convince us, that we have no certain or probable Rule to apply God's Judgments by; and that the ſureſt Rule is the Rule of Charity, *which wiſheth*

wiſheth all things, hopeth all things. The Good and Evil that happen to Men in this World, are no ſure Marks of the Approbation and Diſpleaſure of Almighty God, who makes his Sun to ſhine and his Rain to fall upon the Juſt and the Unjuſt: Good Fortune and Calamities are the Portion of the Good and of the Bad; and if there be any Inequality, the Wicked ſeem to have the Advantage. The World had more People and Temporal Proſperity in the Times of Heatheniſm, than ſince its Aboliſhment; *Mahometaniſm* poſſeſſes much more of the Globe than Chriſtianity poſſeſſes; the Papiſts are more numerous than the Proteſtants are, and have greater and better Countries. The Apoſtles and Saints were the pooreſt Men in the World, and debauched Men are often uppermoſt, and thrive beſt; and as the Righteous are at leaſt as ſubject to Diſtempers and Affliction while they live, as the Wicked are, ſo the Wicked die with as little Pain and as few Pangs as the Righteous die.

That there is a Providence, and a gracious Providence preſiding over the World, is manifeſt and undeniable; but how it works, and from what particular Motives, in a thouſand Inſtances, none but the Author of it can tell; though almoſt all pretend to tell, and are for ever diving into the ſecret Counſels of the moſt High with as much Temerity as ill Succeſs.

To the Diſcredit of this Practice, it is obſervable, that none but the fierce and uncharitable, none but ignorant and narrow-ſpirited Bigots and Barbarians come into it or encourage it. Men of charitable and benevolent Minds, enlarged by Reaſon and Obſervation, condemn it as irreligious; they

they know that it is often malicious and diſhoneſt, always ridiculous and dangerous; they know the Ways of God to be paſt finding out; they ſee human Affairs ſo perplexed and unaccountable; Men ſometimes riſing and ſometimes falling, both by Virtue and Vice; ſuch Viciſſitudes and Revolutions in the Fortunes of Men and of Nations, often without any Change in theſe Men and Nations from Virtue to Vice, or from Vice to Virtue; People growing greater without becoming better, and poorer without growing worſe: They behold Good and Evil ſo promiſcuouſly diſpenſed; ſometimes Thouſands of Men, Women, and Children, of different Spirits, Merit, and Morals, ſuffering equally under the ſame publick Calamity, or deriving equally the like Advantages from publick Proſperity; they behold the Adverſity of ſome to be the viſible Cauſe of the Proſperity of others, who are no better than them; and the Proſperity of ſome the viſible Cauſe of the Adverſity of others, who are no worſe than the former; and one and the ſame Thing producing Good and Evil to thoſe who alike deſerve or do not deſerve Good and Evil: They ſee ſo little Equity or Conſiſtency in the Proceedings of Men; ſometimes good Men exalted, without any Regard had to their Virtue; ſometimes wicked Men caſt down, without any Reſentment of their Crimes; ſometimes good Men puniſhed for being good, and wicked Men raiſed and rewarded for being wicked; ſometimes both Good and Bad ſuffering or proſpering alike; ſometimes good Fortune following the Good, and ill Fortune the Bad, and often taking a contrary Freak—— I ſay, wiſe and honeſt Men, ſeeing all theſe Things in this great Confuſion and Uncertainty,

certainty, find ſufficient Reaſon to be afraid of making bold with Heaven, and of chriſtening by the Name of its Judgments any of theſe Events and Evils that afflict any Part of Mankind.

But Bigots, and they, who, to ſerve ill Ends, intereſt Heaven in all that they do, deal more freely and profanely with their great Maker and Judge, whoſe Counſels and Judgments being incomprehenſible, it is Impiety and a Contradiction to go about to explain and apply them. The *Turks* make God the Author of every Thing that they do, and of every Evil that others ſuffer from them. They meaſure his Will by the Event; and, with them, whatever is ſucceſsful, is lawful and juſt: The Murther of a Prince, or his murthering of others, is never ſinful if it ſucceed: God, they ſay, bleſſes and approves the Event, elſe he would prevent it. So that, upon this Principle, there can be no ſuch Thing as Wickedneſs and Villainy amongſt them; for who knows but it may ſucceed, and then it is good? or if it do not ſucceed, who could foreſee but it would? This impious Tenet of that brutiſh People, arms them with Fierceneſs and Outrage againſt one another, and all the World; it animates them to commit Rapine and Butcheries, and then ſears their Conſciences, and prevents all Remorſe. Nay, they glory in executing Cruelty, becauſe it is the Judgment of God, and they are his Agents.

I wiſh I could keep this dreadful Principle out of *Chriſtendom*; but I am ſorry to ſay, that it is common amongſt us. Whoever applies the Judgment of God to others, has this *Turkiſh* Spirit in him: And all Men that make ſuch Applications, reaſon ſo fooliſhly, ſo falſly, and often ſo maliciouſly

ciouſly in their Defence, that every Inſtance which I have ever yet met with in all my Reading and Obſervation (except the declared Inſtances in ſacred Writ) expoſes them.

Upon the Murther of *Henry* the Third of *France*, by *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar, the Deputy of the famous *French* League, then at *Rome*, tells the Pope, in an Audience given upon that Occaſion, That the Aſſaſſin was choſen by God, and divinely inſpired to murther his Prince; and calls it a glorious Exploit: And though that execrable and bloody Monk uſed all the Methods of Falſhood, Lies, and Forgeries, to get Acceſs to the King, in order to deſtroy him; yet the Deputy ſolemnly tells his Holineſs, that it was notorious that the Thing came not from Men. The League diſtreſſed, reſiſted, and at laſt murthered their Prince: And all theſe their own wicked Doings, were, forſooth, the Judgments of God upon him, for ſuffering Hereſy in the Land.

The *Hugonots*, on the other hand, made a Judgment of that Murther too; but a Judgment on their Side, for his frequent Breach of Faith and Edicts with them, and for his Barbarities towards them. They ſaid, it was a remarkable Providence of God, that he was aſſaſſinated in the ſame Chamber, where he had concerted the furious Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew* —— in the very Chamber, nay, on the ſame Day, the ſame Hour, and on the ſame Spot! Here are Judgments encountering Judgments! let who will reconcile them. I think both Sides ſufficiently raſh and ridiculous in making them, as are all thoſe that do, whatever Side they are of.

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The Conqueſt of the *Greeks* by *Mahomet* the Second, and their ſlaviſh Subjection to the *Turks*, is aſcribed by the Jeſuit *Maimbourg* to the Schiſm, which he ſays they were guilty of in withdrawing their Obedience from the See of *Rome*. Here, according to him, was the Judgment and the Cauſe of the Judgment. *Bayle* obſerves upon this Occaſion, that *Rome* being taken by *Charles* the Fifth, in 1527, was as barbarouſly pillaged by his Troops, as was *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*, when they took it: And he asks, Whether *Maimbourg* would take it well to be told by the *Greeks*, that that Deſolation of *Rome* was a Judgment upon her for her Pride and Ambition, in demanding, imperiouſly, of the *Greek* Church, an abſolute Uniformity and Obedience to her Diſcipline and Dictates? He ſays, that *Maimbourg*, ſince he was dealing in Judgments, might as well have given this another Turn, with which *Chalcondylis* would have furniſhed him. That Hiſtorian relates, that when *Mahomet* invaded and ſubdued *Greece*, the then Inhabitants of *Rome*, who thought themſelves the Deſcendents of the old *Romans*, who came from *Æneas*, who came from *Troy*, aſſerted poſitively, that all the Deſtruction brought upon the *Greeks* by the *Barbarians*, was but a Judgment upon them for all the Ravages which their *Greek* Anceſtors had committed againſt the Subjects of *Priamus*, and in the Deſtruction of *Troy* ſome Thouſand Years before.

The Death of *Oliver Cromwell* was, it ſeems, attended or followed by a very high Wind, which was nothing ſtrange: But as *Oliver* had been a Uſurper, and a great Deceiver, and was greatly hated; moſt of the Vulgar, and many that would be

be thought much wiſer, took it in their Heads, that that ſame Storm was a loud Judgment and Declaration of the Wrath of Heaven againſt him, and that *Satan* was fetching away his Soul in a Whirlwind. But his Friends turned it quite another Way; particularly Mr. *Waller*, who made all that Tumult and Bellowing in the Elements, to be partly the Call of Heaven, ſummoning away ſo great a Man, partly the Sighs and Sympathy of Nature for his laſt Agonies and Departure. The Copy of Verſes that *Waller* made on that Occaſion, is one of the nobleſt in our Language; I ſhall conclude with a few Lines out of it——

We muſt reſign; Heav'n his great Soul does claim,
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame.
His dying Groans, his laſt Breath ſhakes our Iſle;
And Trees, uncut, fall for his Fun'ral Pile.
New Rome *in ſuch a Tempeſt loſt her King,*
And, from obeying, fell to worſhipping.
Nature herſelf took Notice of his Death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the Sea with ſuch a Breath,
That, to remoteſt Shores, her Billows roll'd,
Th' approaching Fate of their great Ruler told.

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I am, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *November* 18, 1721. No. 53.

Dr. Prideaux's *Reaſoning about the Death of* Cambyſes, *examined; whether the ſame was a Judgment for his killing the* Egyptian *God* Apis.

SIR,

THE Talent of writing Hiſtory is ſo rare on this Side the *Alps*, and more on this Side the Channel, that I think moſt of our Southern Neighbours have far exceeded us in it; as much, perhaps, as ſome of the Ancients have exceeded them. By far the moſt Part of our *Engliſh* Hiſtories are pitiful Performances, unworthy of a free, polite and learned Nation. But though many of our Neighbours excel us in the Hiſtories of their own Countries, we can boaſt of two univerſal Hiſtories, which do Honour to the Authors, and their Country. The firſt is Sir *Walter Raleigh*, one of the worthieſt and ableſt Men that this or any other Country ever produced. He had a Soul as vaſt as the Work which he undertook, and his Work reſembles him; for though it has much in it that is foreign to Hiſtory, it is noble, nervous, and inſtructive; its Spirit, Clearneſs, and Stile, are admirable; and for Narration, Penetration, Knowledge, Sentences, and Obſervation, he has few Competitors in Antiquity.

The other is the very reverend, learned, and aged Dr. *Prideaux*, Dean of *Norwich*, who has given us a Body of univerſal Hiſtory, written with ſuch Capacity, Accuracy, Induſtry, and Honeſty, as

as make it one of the beſt Books that ever came into the World, and ſhew him to be one of the greateſt Men in it. No Book was ever more univerſally read and approved. It is indeed a great publick Service done to Mankind, and entitles the Author to the higheſt publick Gratitude and Honour.

But though I never ſaw any great Work to which I found fewer Objections; yet, as a memorable Proof how inſeparably Miſtakes and Prejudices cleave to the Mind of Man, the great and candid Dr. *Prideaux* is not without them; I therefore do not upbraid him with them, but rather admire him for having ſo few. There are however ſome of his Theological Obſervations, which ſeem to me not only ill-grounded, but to have a Tendency to create in his Readers wrong Notions of the Deity, and to encourage them to miſtake the common Accidents of Life, and the common Events of Nature, for the Judgments of God; and to apply them ſuperſtitiouſly as ſuch.

Of this Kind is the Obſervation which he makes upon the Death of *Cambyſes*, the *Perſian* Emperor, who had ſlain the *Egyptian Apis*. For the better underſtanding of this, we muſt know, that *the chief God of the* Egyptians *was* Oſiris; *him they worſhipped in the Shape of a Bull, and that not only in Imagery, but alſo in Reality; for they kept a Bull in the Temple of* Oſiris, *which they worſhipped in his Stead.* The Doctor adds, That *in Imitation of this Idolatry, was it that* Aaron *made the Golden Calf in the Wilderneſs, and* Jeroboam *thoſe in* Dan *and* Bethel, *and did ſet them up there to be worſhipped by the Children of* Iſrael, *as the Gods that had brought them out of the Land of* Egypt.

When this the God and Bull of the *Egyptians* died, they looked out for another, with ſuch proper Marks and Spots as were certain Indications of his Divinity; and when they found one, they expreſſed their Joy in great and publick Feſtivity. In ſuch a Fit of rejoicing, *Cambyſes* found the City of *Memphis*, when he returned to it, from his unproſperous Expedition into *Æthiopia*. The *Egyptians* had juſt then found a new God amongſt the Cattle, and had lodged him at his Crib in his Temple with great Solemnity. *Cambyſes* had a Mind to ſee this Deity of theirs; "And, ſays "Dr. *Prideaux*, this *Apis* being brought to him, "he fell into a Rage, as well he might, at the "Sight of ſuch a God; and, drawing out his "Dagger, run it into the Thigh of the Beaſt; "and then reproaching the Prieſts for their Stu- "pidity and Wretchedneſs in worſhipping a Brute "for a God, ordered them ſeverely to be whipped, "and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis* to be ſlain, "who ſhould be found any more rejoicing there "on this Occaſion. The *Apis* being carried back "to the Temple, languiſhed of his Wound, and "died.

As to the Death of *Cambyſes*, and the Manner of it, take it alſo in the Doctor's Words: "As "he mounted his Horſe, his Sword falling out of "the Scabbard, gave him a Wound in the Thigh, "of which he died: The *Egyptians* remarking, "that it was in the ſame Part of the Body, where "he had afore wounded the *Apis*, reckoned it as "an eſpecial Judgment from Heaven upon him "for that Fact; and perchance they were not "much out in it: For it ſeldom happening in an "Affront given to any particular Mode of Wor-

"ſhip,

" ſhip, how erroneous ſoever it may be, but that " Religion in general is wounded hereby; there " are many Inſtances in Hiſtory, wherein God " hath very ſignally puniſhed the Profanations of " Religion in the worſt of Times, and under the " worſt Modes of Heathen Idolatry.

Without inquiring whether this be any Compliment to Truth and Religion; I freely own, that the diſtreſſing or diſturbing of any ſort of People in any ſort of Worſhip, however falſe and ridiculous, where the ſame does not violate Property or human Society, is an Invaſion of the Rights of Nature and Conſcience, and no Man can do it with a wiſe and honeſt Deſign: And what Men do of this Kind, out of Bitterneſs of Spirit or Self-Ends, no one will juſtify. If People will play the Fool in their Devotion, they only expoſe themſelves, but hurt not others; and whoever does Hurt to them, does but warrant them to return it: And hence is the ſure Beginning of Tyranny, and of eternal Civil and Religious War. Every Man reckons every Religion falſe or fooliſh, which he does not embrace; and his own the beſt, though it be the worſt. And if in this univerſal Obſtinacy of every Man in every religious Opinion which he has imbibed, a Diſpute by the Sword, and Arguments of Authority and Force, were encouraged, or but permitted, Confuſion and Slaughter would be their chief Employment. Or if one Man's Will were to be a Law to other Men's Thoughts, the Effects would be every where alike; that is, the Stupidity and Slavery of *Turks* would be the Portion and Character of *Engliſhmen*.

But I cannot think that the wounding of a Bull, even of a conſecrated Bull, and the whipping of his Prieſts, were ſuch Crimes as, beyond all the other Crimes of *Cambyſes*, called for the avenging Judgments of God upon him. He had others to anſwer for of a far more black, malignant, and deteſtable Nature: He put his Brother to Death for his Merit, and for a Dream that he had concerning him. He killed, by a Kick in the Belly, his beloved Wife *Meroe*, who was alſo his Siſter, and then with-child by him, for lamenting the Death of her murdered Brother. "He cauſed ſeveral of his principal Followers to "be buried alive, without any Cauſe deſerving of "it, and daily ſacrificed ſome or other of them "to his wild Fury. And when *Crœſus* (formerly "King of *Lydia*, the old and faithful Friend and "Counſellor of his Father *Cyrus*) adviſed him a-"gainſt thoſe Proceedings, and laid before him "the ill Conſequences which they would lead to, "he ordered him to be put to Death; and when "thoſe who received his Orders, knowing he "would repent of it next Day, did therefore de-"fer the Execution, he cauſed them all to be "executed for it, though at the ſame time he "expreſſed great Joy that *Crœſus* was alive: And "out of a mere Humour, only to ſhew his Skill "in Archery, he ſhot to Death the Son of *Prex-"aſpes*, who was the Chief of his Favourites." He cauſed the Magiſtrates of *Memphis* to be put to Death, for anſwering truly to a Queſtion which he asked them. In his mad March over the *Lybian* Sands, to invade a People that had done him no Harm, he deſtroyed moſt of his vaſt Army,

Fifty

Fifty Thouſand in one Place: The reſt were reduced by Famine to feed on each other.

Which now is moſt likely, and moſt becoming the divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, that the great God of Heaven and Earth ſhould be more offended with this black Catalogue of Cruelties and Crimes, than with a haſty Blow given to a Brute worſhipped as God; which the Doctor owns had juſtly provoked the Rage of *Cambyſes*? And is the Almighty more provoked at an Affront put upon an Idol, and upon the Attendants of an Idol, which falſly and impudently is made to repreſent him, than at a terrible and raging Tyranny, that ſpreads Blood and Deſolation over the Face of the Earth?

Cambyſes, upon his invading *Egypt*, did another Thing as bad as the wounding of *Apis*; I ſhall relate it in the Doctor's own Words: "Finding "that the Garriſon of *Peluſium*, a ſtrong Fron- "tier Town, were all *Egyptians*; in an Aſſault "which he made upon the City, he placed a "great Number of Cats, Dogs, Sheep, and "other of thoſe Animals which the *Egyptians* "reckoned ſacred, in the Front of the Army; "and therefore the Soldiers not daring to throw "a Dart, or ſhoot an Arrow that Way, for fear "of killing ſome of thoſe Animals, *Cambyſes* "made himſelf Maſter of the Place without any "Oppoſition. For theſe being the Gods which "the *Egyptians* then adored, it was reckoned the "higheſt Impiety to kill any of them; and when "they died of themſelves, they buried them with "great Solemnity."

The Doctor makes no Reflection upon this, though, upon the ſame Principle, it muſt have

been an Affront to Religion; and if none of theſe ſacred Creatures were killed, it was owing to no Tenderneſs in *Cambyſes*, who expoſed them to ſo much Danger. But if true Religion be hurt by putting an Affront upon a falſe one, how came it to be a Merit in the primitive Chriſtians to pull down the Heathen Temples, and to deſtroy the Idols of the Heathens, as they almoſt every where did where they had Power, often in Oppoſition to Power? And upon what Foot and Motive is it that Penalties and Incapacities are put upon any Sect of Religion in any Country? And how came the *Jews* to exerciſe ſuch Fury upon the Gods and Worſhip of the *Gentiles*, as many of the *Jewiſh* Leaders, eſpecially the *Maccabees* did, often out of their own Country, often without Provocation?

The Primitive Fathers are every where full of Sarcaſms againſt the Heatheniſh Worſhip, which they treat conſtantly with Ridicule and Reproach, with Contempt and Bitterneſs: Did Chriſtianity ſuffer by this Behaviour of theirs; or did not rather Chriſtianity gain Advantage and new Beauties, by comparing it with the Abſurdities, the Fopperies, Nonſenſe, Corruptions, and Vanities of the *Pagans?* Truth cannot ſuffer by expoſing Falſhoods, which can no more bear the Face of Truth, than Darkneſs can the Face of the Sun. No two Things are more unlike than true and falſe Religion; and the ſame Treatment can never affect both in any Reſpect, as the ſame Arguments cannot defend Truth and Error. Indeed, true Religion is defended and recommended by the very Means that expoſe and deſtroy a falſe one. I have therefore often wondered at a Saying of Mr. *Collier*'s, though not that it was ſaid by him; namely,

namely, That the Tranſition is eaſy from ridiculing a falſe Religion to the ridiculing a true one; or Words to that Effect. Than which nothing could be more unjuſtly ſaid: They are as oppoſite as Law and the Violation of Law; as unlike as Juſtice and Oppreſſion; and as different as *Chriſt* and *Belial*. How ſhould the Worſhip of Dæmons reſemble the Worſhip of the true God? And if they cannot be miſtaken for each other, how can they be annoyed by the ſame Weapons? The Fathers were ſo far from ſuch an Imagination, that in their Railleries and Reaſonings upon the devout Fooleries of the *Gentiles*, they did not treat them with a bit the more Reverence or Regard for their being eſtabliſhed by a Law.

So much may ſerve to ſhew, that the true Religion can have no Sympathy with the Falſe, nor ſuffer in its Sufferings. As to the Death of *Cambyſes*, I do not ſee any Sign of a Judgment in it, unleſs every Death occaſioned by an Accident or an Inſtrument, is a Judgment. Indeed every Diſaſter, before it can be called a Judgment in this Senſe of the Word, muſt be proved a Miracle; and common Effects from viſible and common Cauſes, as they are no Miracles, ſo neither can they be called Judgments, unleſs God, the Author of Judgments, declares them ſo, as he did not in the Caſe before us. Many a good Man has been killed in a more terrible Manner, as were all the Saints and Martyrs.

Now where is the Miracle of a Sword falling out of the Sheath, when a Man is mounting his Horſe? And where was it more likely to fall than on his Leg or his Thigh? If indeed it had got out of the Scabbard of its own accord, and

mounted up to his Head and cut it off, it might have looked like a Judgment; but yet I ſhould have looked out rather for any Cauſe of it, than the killing of a deified Bull.

G *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *November* 25, 1721. No. 54.

The Reaſoning of Dr. Prideaux *about the Fate of* Brennus the Gaul, *and of his Followers, examined; whether the ſame were a Judgment for an Intention to plunder the Temple of* Delphos.

SIR,

I Shall beſtow this Paper in conſidering what Dr. *Prideaux* ſays of *Brennus the Gaul*, his Expedition, Death, and Crime. This Man, at the Head of a great Number of his Countrymen, ſent Abroad to ſeek new Habitations, paſſing through *Hungary*, *Illyrium*, and *Macedonia*, plundering, ravaging, and deſtroying as they went, at laſt invaded *Greece*, and " marched on towards *Delphos*, " to plunder the Temple in that City of the vaſt " Riches which were there laid up. But he there " met a wonderful Defeat: For on his approaching the Place, there happened a terrible Storm " of Thunder, Lightning, and Hail, which de" ſtroyed great Numbers of his Men; and at the " ſame Time there was as terrible an Earthquake, " which rending the Mountains in Pieces, threw " down whole Rocks upon them, which over" whelmed them by Hundreds at a Time; by " which the whole Army being much diſmayed,

— " they

" they were the following Night ſeized with ſuch
" a pannick Fear, that every Man ſuppoſing him
" that was next to him to be a *Grecian* Enemy,
" they fell upon each other, ſo that before there
" was Day-Light enough to make them ſee the
" Miſtake, one half of the Army had deſtroyed
" the other. By all this the *Greeks*, who were
" now come together from all Parts to defend their
" Temple, being much animated, fell furiouſly
" on them; and although now *Acichorus* was come
" up with *Brennus*, yet both their Forces toge-
" ther could not ſtand the Aſſault; but great
" Numbers of them were ſlain, and great Num-
" bers were wounded; and amongſt theſe laſt was
" *Brennus* himſelf, who had received ſeveral
" Wounds; and although none of them were
" mortal, yet ſeeing all now loſt, and the whole
" Expedition, which he had been the Author of,
" thus ended in a diſmal Ruin, he was ſo con-
" founded at the Miſcarriage, that he reſolved
" not to out-live it: And therefore calling to him
" as many of the chief Leaders as he could get
" together amidſt that calamitous Hurry, he ad-
" viſed them to ſlay all the Wounded, and with
" the Remainder make as good a Retreat back-
" ward as they could; and then having guzzled
" down as much Wine as he could drink, he
" run himſelf through and died—The reſt be-
" ing to march through Enemy's Countries, they
" were as they paſſed ſo diſtreſſed for Want of
" Proviſions, which they were every where to
" fight for, ſo incommoded at Night by lodging
" moſtly upon the Ground in a Winter Seaſon,
" and in ſuch a Manner harraſſed and fallen upon
" where-ever they came by the People of thoſe

" Countries through which they paſſed, that " what with Famine, Cold, and Sickneſs, and " what with the Sword of their Enemies, they " were all cut off and deſtroyed: So that of the " numerous Company which did firſt ſet out on " this Expedition, not ſo much as one Man eſca- " ped the calamitous Fate of miſerably periſhing " in it.

This is the Story of *Brennus*, which I have told in the Doctor's own Words: Now follows his Reflection upon it: " Thus God was pleaſed in a " very extraordinary Manner to execute his Ven- " geance upon thoſe ſacrilegious Wretches, for " the Sake of Religion in general, how falſe and " idolatrous ſoever that particular Religion was, " for which that Temple at *Delphos* was erected. " For, to believe a Religion true, and offer ſacri- " legious Violences to the Places conſecrated to " the Devotions of that Religion, is abſolute Im- " piety, and a Sin againſt all Religion; and there " are many Inſtances of very ſignal Judgments " with which God hath puniſhed it even amongſt " the worſt of Heathens and Infidels; and much " more may they expect it, who, having the " Truth of God eſtabliſhed among them, ſhall " become guilty hereof.

If this unhappy End of *Brennus* and his Followers was a Judgment, as doubtleſs this reverend and worthy Author thinks, I cannot ſee why an Intention to pillage a ſtupid Idol of his uſeleſs Wealth and devout Bawbles, given and uſed for the Ends of Idolatry and Deluſion, ſhould be reckoned the Cauſe of it. I would be glad to know how any Part of Mankind would have ſuffered in their Religion or Fortune, though the Shrine

Shrine and Temple of *Apollo* had been ſtript of all their ſuperſtitious and ill-got Finery? or, How God Almighty came to ſhew himſelf thus miraculouſly the Guardian of an Idol, ſet up to rival him, and to deceive the World by uttering oraculous Lies? or, How the taking away of thoſe Riches that were acquired by belying God and deceiving Man, and employed for the Ornament and Support of a blaſphemous Impoſture, could be called Sacrilege or robbing of God, who was really robbed by an Idol of That only which he can be robbed of, divine Worſhip and Homage?

But becauſe People are apt to be miſguided and terrified by Words, eſpecially by ſuch as are applied to Devotion and holy Things, I ſhall here beſtow ſome Reflections upon the awful Word *Sacrilege*, and ſhew that it is ill underſtood.

Sacrilege, we are told by ſome, ſignifies the robbing or ſtealing from God any Thing which is peculiarly his. Now nothing can be ſtolen from God, nor can any Thing be concealed from him. Every Thing being his, it is as much his in the Hands of one Man as in the Hands of another; for, let who will have the Uſe of it, the Property cannot be altered: God who has all Things, can never be put out of the Poſſeſſion of any Thing; and as nothing can be taken from him, ſo neither can any Thing be given to him, becauſe all the World and every Thing in it is already his; and it is abſurd to imagine that any Form of Words, or Change of Place or Poſition, can enlarge or leſſen his Property in any Thing. All that we have, we have from him; and to return him his own Gifts back again, which we want and he does not, is no Compliment, nor any Part of Religion

ligion or of Reaſon: It is ſhewing ourſelves wiſer than him, in ſetting apart for his Uſe thoſe Things which he has graciouſly created and ſet apart for ours. Can we feed him? or can we cloth, adorn or enrich him? Can we build him a City to dwell in, or furniſh him with Guards for the Security of his Perſon?

Sacrilege therefore is either the robbing of Men, or no Robbery at all. And this Crime is greater or leſs, according to the Meaſure or Miſchief done. To rob a poor Man of his Loaf, is a greater Crime, in *foro Conſcientiæ*, than to rob a rich Man of an Ox: To rob a Man of a ſmall Part of a Thing that is neceſſary to him, is a greater Crime, than the robbing him of a great Superfluity; and if I rob a Man of a Thing that will do him Hurt, I hope I do him leſs an Injury, than if I robbed him of a Thing which does him Good. But if I take a Thing which no Man has a Right to, I myſelf have a Right to it, by poſſeſſing it.

To apply all this to the Buſineſs of Sacrilege; if a Man take away any of the Books, Veſtments, or Utenſils, made uſe of in Devotion, he only robs the Congregation, who muſt buy more; and many being more able than one to bear this Loſs, the Offence, as to its Effects, is leſs than if he robbed but one Man. But if he take away from a Heathen Temple, Plate, or hidden Treaſure, laid up there, but not uſed, he indeed does an Action that he has no Right to do, but an Action that however does good to the World, by turning into Uſe, that which was of none, or of bad Uſe.

Dead Treaſure, firſt drawn from the People in ſuperſtitious Offerings, and then laid up in a Heathen

Heathen Temple, and kept and uſed for impious and idolatrous Ends, but never to return again into the World, for the neceſſary Purpoſes of Life and Commerce, is the Plunder of Mankind; and the worſt of all Plunders, becauſe it never circulates; and People are greatly the worſe for it, in Reſpect both of Soul and Body, but never can be the better. It is firſt taking from them, and afterwards denying them, the great and chief Means of Life and Convenience. He therefore, whoever he be, that takes it from thence, let him take it in what manner he will, does a better and more publick Thing, than he who keeps it there.

No Man can be robbed of a Thing in which he has no Property. Of this ſort was *Apollo*'s Wealth; and no body was robbed in taking it away. So that whoever takes away golden Images, or other dead Wealth, the Means and Objects of falſe Adoration, is guilty of no other Crime, than that of diſturbing erroneous Conſciences: Nor need ſuch Conſciences be much diſturbed, ſince the Crime being committed without their Conſent, they have no ſhare in it. And therefore if ſuch idolatrous Images, and ſuch ſuperſtitious, uſeleſs, and pernicious Riches, be taken away by a lawful Authority, or in a lawful War, it is no Crime at all. So that in every Senſe *Brennus* committed a greater Crime in plundering one Village, than he could have committed had he plundered, as he intended, the Temple of *Delphos*.

If *Brennus* had believed in *Apollo*, he ſinned againſt his Conſcience, in deſigning to rob him. But we do not know that *Brennus*, or thoſe that followed him, believed thus. I do not remember that *Apollo* was the God of the *Gauls*, or that the

Druids

Druids owned him: All Nations agreed not in worſhipping the ſame Gods, but often diſputed about the Quality, Birth, and Precedence of their Gods. And if *Brennus* deſpiſed or diſregarded *Apollo*, he committed no Sacrilege; at leaſt with reſpect to himſelf, it was no Sacrilege, but only Rapine; but if, believing in him, though an Idol, he would have ſinned in pillaging him, as doubtleſs he would, here is an Argument, that a good Conſcience may be an erroneous Conſcience; and that if no Man muſt act againſt his own Conſcience, though it be erroneous, as doubtleſs he muſt not, then much leſs has any other Man whatſoever a Right to puniſh or diſtreſs him for it. If God approve, who is it that condemns? And none but God knows the Heart of another.

If *Brennus* had worſhipped *Apollo*, he was guilty of Idolatry, in the Opinion of all Chriſtians: And if he had robbed him, he was guilty of Sacrilege in the Opinion of moſt. Now we hear of no Judgment falling upon thoſe that worſhipped *Apollo*, and ſupported that Idol with ſuperſtitious Donations; all which was Idolatry. And is Idolatry, which God has declared abominable in his Eyes, a leſs Sin than robbing an idolatrous Temple, which Action God has no where declared a Sin? The good Kings of the *Jews* deſtroyed all Idols and idolatrous Temples, wherever they had Power; and the Wrath of God was kindled againſt all that did not. If it was therefore a Sin againſt the true God, not to deſtroy them; How came it to be Sin, only to rob them?

I think all this is enough to ſhew, that an Intention to plunder *Apollo* of his idle and unhallowed Wealth, was not the probable Cauſe of any Judg-

Judgment upon *Brennus* and his Followers: But if there muſt be a Judgment in the Caſe, there were Reaſons for it, much more powerful, and much more likely to provoke God to ſend it. He was a wild and barbarous Robber, at the Head of an Army of Savages, who cruelly ravaged many Nations, made Spoil of all Men's Property, and inhumanely maſſacred thoſe that defended their own. They were Invaders, Plunderers, and Murderers, who by Numbers, Barbarity, Rapine, and Slaughter, laid waſte whole Countries, and deſtroyed, unprovoked, Men and Property. In this general Pillage, they had already paſſed through and deſolated *Hungary*, *Illyrium*, *Macedonia*, and were now got into *Greece*. Was not here Guilt enough to call down a Thouſand Judgments? And after all this bloody and brutiſh Violence done to the World, and to the Laws of God and Man; Can we imagine that theſe *Gauls* ſuffered that terrible Doom for barely intending a Thing, in which neither God would have been diſhonoured, nor Man injured? At leaſt in any Degree of Compariſon, with the leaſt of the other great and terrible Calamities, which they ſuffered from theſe deſtroying *Barbarians?*

I ſhall now add ſomething more particularly concerning the wretched End of theſe *Gauls*, and enquire how far it can be reckoned a Judgment. And here I am of Opinion, that either every Calamity, publick or private, muſt be accounted a Judgment; which Doctrine, I believe no Man holds; or elſe we muſt determine, by what Marks we can know a Judgment from a Calamity: Nor do I know of any ſufficient Marks to direct us in this Matter, but an immediate Miracle, and Declaration

claration from Almighty God, that he means it ſo: And in ſuch a miraculous Declaration, the Crime muſt be expreſly ſpecified, for which ſuch Judgment is inflicted; becauſe for every Crime Judgments are not inflicted, nor always for the lateſt Crimes; but ſometimes overtake the Sinner, long after the Sin is committed. All this I take to be ſelf-evident. We muſt remember that Men, biaſſed by Paſſions and Prejudices, do often confound Good and Evil, and miſtake the greateſt Wickedneſs for the greateſt Merit, and the higheſt Merit for the higheſt Wickedneſs: Publick Maſſacres have been applauded, publick Incendiaries have been ſainted, publick Tyrants deified. While on the other Side, publick Virtue has paſſed for a publick Crime, Truth for Blaſphemy, and Chriſtianity has been rewarded with Fire and Sword. So that Men thus blind and perverſe, do frequently entitle Vice to the Bleſſing and Favour of God, and Virtue and Merit to his ſevereſt Judgments.

Wherever therefore, there is a great Complication of Crimes, and ſometimes of great Crimes, How can we diſtinguiſh for which of them the Judgment is ſent, unleſs he that ſends it declare the ſame? If he ſend it for more Crimes than one, How ſhall we diſtinguiſh where he, who only can, does not? And if the Judgment be ſent for one Sin only, by what certain Token can we diſcover it? If one Man hurt or diſoblige Twenty, in Twenty different Ways; rob One, ſteal from Another, deceive a Third, calumniate a Fourth, wound a Fifth, bear falſe Witneſs againſt a Sixth, and ſo on till he has as many Enemies as Crimes, and afterwards die by a Diſaſter or the Law; every one of the Twenty will be apt to call

call it a Judgment, and a particular Judgment, for the particular Offence done to himſelf. Now where is the Rule, by which certainly to know either that this Man's Death was a Judgment, or to find out the certain Crime that brought it upon him? Or is ever ſuch a Rule like to be found, as long as all Sorts of Evils befal all Sorts of Men?

As to the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, and Earthquakes, that deſtroyed ſo many of the *Gauls*; were they not the uſual Operations and Effects of Nature? And have they not been from the Beginning? Have not whole Cities and Countries been deſtroyed by them? And has not their impartial Fury been felt by the Good and the Bad, without Diſtinction? In deſtroying Storms by Land and Sea, are the Wicked only overtaken? And do not the Virtuous periſh undiſtinguiſhed with the latter? And are not juſt Men, going upon juſt Expeditions, frequently overwhelmed by them? And do not wicked Men, in wicked Enterprizes, often eſcape them? When an impetuous Shock of an Earthquake overturns a City, or opens a devouring Chaſm to ſwallow it up; Do the Dwellings of the Righteous remain unmoved, and their Perſons unhurt?

Nor is it at all wonderful and uncommon, that this ignorant Multitude, diſmayed by ſo many and ſo alarming Misfortunes, thus ſuddenly checked in their Progreſs, at a great Diſtance from Home, beſet with Enemies in an Enemy's Country, unskilled in the Phœnomena of Nature, ſuffering many Calamities, and dreading more, fell into a Pannick; and having loſt their Senſes, attacked one another, by a Miſtake, in the Dark. Whole

Armies,

Armies have fallen into the like Terror upon the Sight of an Eclipſe: And the ſame unaccountable Fear, but without the ſame Effect, ſeized the victorious *Macedonian* Army of *Alexander the Great*, the very Night before they fought one of their greateſt and moſt ſucceſsful Battles. And we have ſtill a much later Inſtance at Home: At the Battle of *Naſeby*, King *Charles* the Firſt, who was in it, being preſſed by ſome of his own People that were behind them, bid them keep back; which Words being repeated by others to thoſe next them, and by theſe to others, the Word *back* was catched up, and running from Man to Man through all the Ranks, was underſtood as a Sign to fly; and accordingly the Royal Army fled, and the Field was loſt. And thus a Chance-word threw a whole Army into a Pannick. None of the Royal Party have yet told us, that this was a Judgment upon that King and his Cauſe; nor, I dare ſay, would they have believed the other Party, had the other Party alledged that it was.

Conſidering all theſe Calamities and Loſſes ſuffered by the *Gauls*, and the Conſternation which they were in, I ſuppoſe there was no great Miracle in their being vanquiſhed by the *Greeks*, who were now come together from all Parts, to fall furiouſly on a defeated Enemy. And as ſmall is the Wonder of *Brennus*'s killing himſelf: He was a reſolute Man, and took this Method to cure himſelf of that Grief and Diſappointment which he could not bear, and to preſerve himſelf from falling alive into the Hands of his Enemies, to whom he had given a Right of uſing him very ill.

Neither is it any thing ſurprizing that the reſt, *being to march through Enemies Countries, were, as*

they

they paſſed,-ſo diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions, which they were every where to fight for; ſo incommoded at Night by Lodging moſtly on the Ground in a Winter Seaſon, and in ſuch a manner harraſſed and fallen upon wherever they came by the People of thoſe Countries through which they paſſed, that what with Famine, Cold, and Sickneſs, and what with the Sword of their Enemies, they were all cut off and deſtroyed. All this Misfortune is thus fairly accounted for, and the Thing is not uncommon. The whole Nation of the *Cimbrians* were deſtroyed in much greater Numbers, when they left their old Habitations in queſt of new; though it does not appear that they intended to rob Temples. And yet *Xerxes* deſtroyed and plundered all the idolatrous Temples in the *Eaſt*, except that of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, without thriving the worſe for it.

They were all cut off and deſtroyed! for which plain, natural, and neceſſary Cauſes are aſſigned; and yet it was a Judgment! Surely this is ſtrange and unaccountable. Doubtleſs there were Degrees and great Difference of Guilt and Innocence amongſt *Brennus*'s Followers; and why ſhould they who were not all equally guilty all equally ſuffer? Why ſhould Subjects and Soldiers be puniſhed for the Sins of a Prince or a General? Soldiers are often preſſed into the Service, and rarely or never know the Reaſons of the Commander's Orders; and it is Mutiny and Death to diſobey him. And Princes often run into wild Wars, without the Conſent of their Subjects, and againſt their Intereſt; and yet if their Subjects oppoſe them in it, they are guilty of Reſiſtance, which is reckoned Rebellion, a very terrible and crying Crime, to which the Judgment of God has been pronounced due:

due: And yet the Judgments of God, which ſometimes fall upon Princes for an unjuſt War, fall alſo upon their Subjects, who were utterly guiltleſs of it. What ſtrange Doctrine is this? that every Man in a Nation ſhall ſuffer for the Sins of one Man, whom they could not reſtrain; or that any Man ſhall ſuffer for the Crimes of another? And that the beſt Men in an Army or a Nation ſhall bear the Calamities inflicted upon them for the Sins of the worſt; as if it were a Crime in a good Man to live where his Lot has caſt him, without his own Conſent, next Door to a wicked Man, or within Ten Miles of him?

This Paper, which I could make much longer, grows already too long. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that we either apply God's Judgments at random, without his Authority, always in Oppoſition to his Commands, and, for ought we know, as often contrary to his Ends and Intention; or we do it out of Prejudices to Men and Opinions: And by this we give Advantage to Infidels and Men of no Religion, to reproach us with Preſumption upon our own Principles, in meddling with the ſecret Councils of God, in confounding his Mercy and Juſtice, in making him act capriciouſly, and in confounding one Religion with another, the Good with the Bad, as if we thought them all alike. Let us give no more ground for this Reproach; and as a Specimen of our Candour and equitable Judgment, let us own, in the Inſtance before us, that the Liberty, Proſperity, and Peace of the World, and amongſt the reſt, the Liberty of *Greece*, were Things ſomewhat more

more ſacred and inviolable than *Apollo's* conſecrated Bawbles.

I am, &c.

P. S. The Story about King *Charles* I relate upon Memory, and may miſtake in Names or Circumſtances.

G

SATURDAY, *December* 2, 1721. No. 55.

The Lawfulneſs of killing Julius Cæſar *conſidered, and defended, againſt Dr.* Prideaux.

SIR,

I Shall, in this Paper, conſider and diſcuſs a great Point, namely, Whether the Killing of *Julius Cæſar* was a Virtue, or a Crime? And becauſe Dr. *Prideaux*, who condemns it, does not only ſpeak his own Senſe, but that of a great Party, I ſhall here tranſcribe what he ſays of it.

" He was murder'd in the Senate-Houſe, by a " Conſpiracy of Senators. This was a moſt baſe " and villainous Act; and was the more ſo in that " the prime Authors of it, *Marcus Brutus*, *Deci-* " *mus Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Trebonius*, and ſome " others of them, were ſuch as *Cæſar* had in the " higheſt Manner oblig'd; yet it was executed " under the Notion of an high heroick Virtue, " in thus freeing their Country from one whom " they call'd a Tyrant; and there are not want- " ing ſuch as are ready, even in our Days, to ap- " plaud the Act. But divine Juſtice declared it-

" ſelf

" ſelf otherwiſe in this Matter: For it purſued " every one of them that were concerned herein, " with ſuch a juſt and remarkable Revenge, that " they were every Man of them cut off in a ſhort " Time after, in a violent Manner, either by " their own, or other Men's Hands.

Theſe are the Doctor's Words, and this his Judgment, which is roundly paſſed; but how juſtly, I hope to make appear before I have ended this Letter. He has not told us what it was, that, in his Opinion, rendered the Perſon of *Cæſar* ſo very inviolable. That *Cæſar* had for his Title, only Power and Succeſs gained by Violence, and all wicked Means, is moſt certain. That the acquiring and exerciſing of Power by Force, is Tyranny, is as certain; nor did ever any reaſonable Man ſay, that Succeſs was a Proof of Right. They who make the Perſon of *Cæſar* ſacred, declare the Perſon of a Tyrant, and an Uſurper, to be ſacred; for no Man ever lived, to whom thoſe two Characters do more notoriouſly belong. And if all the Privileges and Impunity belonging to a lawful Magiſtrate, who protects his People, and rules himſelf and them by Law, and their own Conſent, do alſo appertain to a lawleſs Intruder; who is ſtronger than all, by being worſe than all; and under the mock Name of a publick Magiſtrate, is a publick Oppreſſor, Scourge, Uſurper, Executioner, and Plunderer: then all theſe bleſſed Conſequences follow: That there is an utter End of all publick and private Right and Wrong; every Magiſtrate may be a Tyrant, every Tyrant is a lawful Magiſtrate; it is unlawful to reſiſt the greateſt human Evil; the neceſſary Means of Self-Preſervation are unlawful; though it be lawful

ful and expedient to deſtroy little Robbers, who have as much Right, and more Innocence, than Great Ones, and who are only ſo for Subſiſtence; yet it is impious and unlawful to oppoſe great Robbers, who out of Luſt, Avarice, Cruelty, or Wantonneſs, take away Life and Property, and deſtroy Nations at Pleaſure: That real, great, and general Miſchief, is defended by giving it a good Name, by which he who commits it is protected; Violence, Fraud, and Oppreſſion may be committed with Security, if they be but called Magiſtracy; and the execrable Authors of them are not only ſafe, but ſacred, if they be but called Magiſtrates: Though it be unlawful to be a publick Deſtroyer and Murderer, yet it is unlawful to deſtroy him; that is, it is unlawful to prevent or puniſh that which is moſt impious and unlawful: And finally, that any Man who can oppreſs and enſlave the World, and deſtroy Nations, with the moſt and beſt Men in them, may do all this with Impunity.

If *Julius Cæſar* was a lawful Magiſtrate, then every Man who has Force and Villainy enough, may make himſelf a lawful Magiſtrate; and lawful Magiſtrates are, or may be made by Force and Villainy. But if Magiſtracy is not acquired by over-turning with the Sword all Law and Magiſtracy, then *Julius Cæſar* was no Magiſtrate; and if he was not, how came he by the Rights and Impunity with which lawful Magiſtrates only are veſted?

Againſt any Man uſing lawleſs Force, every Man has a Right to uſe Force. What Crime would it have been in any *Roman*, or Body of *Romans*, even without any Commiſſion from *Rome*,

to

to have ſlain *Alarick*, or *Attila*, or *Brennus*, when they invaded the *Roman* Territories? And what more Right had *Cæſar* than they? In Truth, his Crime was infinitely greater than theirs, as he added the Sins of Ingratitude, Treachery, and Parricide, to that of Uſurpation. The *Goths* and *Gauls* did indeed violate the Laws of Nations, in moleſting and invading a Country, that owed them neither Subjection nor Homage: But *Cæſar* violated the Laws of Nature, and of his Country, by enſlaving thoſe whom he was entruſted and bound to defend.

Every Body, I believe, will own, that when he firſt made War upon his Country, his Country had a Right to make War upon him; and to deſtroy him, who ſought to deſtroy them. How came that Right to ceaſe after he had, by his Succeſs in Villainy and Uſurpation, added to his Crimes, and made Death ſtill more his Due? Or is it lawful to reſiſt and kill a Robber before he has taken away your Money, but not after he has done it? And does a Villain grow ſacred and inviolable, by the mere Merit of completing his Villainy? If *Cæſar* had forfeited his Life, as he certainly had by all the Laws of *Rome*; why was it not as lawful to take it away by the Hands of Thirty Men, as by the Arms of Thirty Thouſand, and in the Senate as well as in the Field?

The Reaſon why one private Man muſt not kill another in Society, even when he does that which deſerves Death, is, That in Society no Man muſt be his own Judge, or take his own Revenge; but the more equitable Law muſt give it him, and there are Judges eſtabliſhed for that Purpoſe. But if the Offender ſet himſelf above the Law and the Judges,

Judges, he leaves a Right to the Perſon injured to ſeek Redreſs his own Way, and as he can get it. Whoever puts himſelf in a State of War againſt me, gives me a Right of War againſt him; and Violence is a proper Remedy for Violence, when no other is left.

That Right which, in the State of Nature, every Man had, of repelling and revenging Injuries, in ſuch Manner as every Man thought beſt, is transferred to the Magiſtrate, when Political Societies are formed, and Magiſtracy eſtabliſhed; but muſt return to private Men again, when the Society is diſſolved: Which Diſſolution may happen either through the natural Demiſe of the Perſons entruſted with the publick Authority, where there is no Proviſion made in the Conſtitution for others to ſucceed them; or when by a ſuperior unlawful Force, they are reſtrained from anſwering the great End of their Truſt, in protecting the Innocent; an End for which alone Men part with their natural Rights, and become the Members and Subjects of Society.

It is a moſt wicked and abſurd Poſition, to ſay that a whole People can ever be in ſuch a Situation, as not to have a Right to defend and preſerve themſelves, when there is no other Power in Being to protect and defend them; and much more, that they muſt not oppoſe a Tyrant, a Traytor, an univerſal Robber, who by Violence, Treachery, Rapine, infinite Murders and Devaſtations, has deprived them of their legal Protection.

Now, that all theſe black Characters belonged to *Cæſar*, is indiſputable Fact; nor was there ever a Traytor and a Tyrant in the World, if he was not one. He broke, outrageouſly broke, every

Tye that can bind a human Soul; Honour, Virtue, Religion, Law, Truſt, Humanity, and every Thing that is ſacred and valuable amongſt Men. He was a Subject and Servant of the *Roman* Commonwealth, greatly honoured and truſted by it; he was a Senator and High Prieſt; he had been Conſul; he was General of one of its greateſt Armies, Governor of one of its greateſt and beſt Provinces. All this Power and Credit, all theſe Offices and Forces he turned, ungratefully, barbarouſly, and traiterouſly upon his Maſters, and made a Prey of his Country with its own Money and Arms.

The Means by which he did this mighty and conſummate Evil, were ſuitable to the End. He ſtuck at nothing; nor was any Pitch of Baſeneſs too high or too low for him. He even ſubmitted his Perſon to infamous and unnatural Proſtitution, for the Ends of Ambition; and from a Boy was in every Faction for embroiling and over-turning the State; firſt in the bloody Meaſures of *Marius*; afterwards in the more terrible Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, to murder the Conſuls and the Senate, to burn *Rome*, and to enſlave the Commonwealth: And though he failed in that Conſpiracy, he went on conſpiring; he corrupted the People, and headed Parties of Deſperadoes, to frighten thoſe whom he could not bribe: He oppreſſed the Provinces, and deſtroyed their Inhabitants; he robbed the Publick Temples; he ſlaughtered the Armies of the Republick; he ſeized the publick Treaſure; at laſt, he ſeized the World, and extinguiſhed its Liberty. Hear the diſmal Dread of the *Roman* Senate and People, upon that dreadful Occaſion, as the ſame is deſcribed by *Lucan*.

——*Fuit*

——*Fuit hæc menſura timoris,*
Velle putant quodcunque poteſt——
Omnia Cæſar erat; privatæ curia vocis
Teſtis adeſt. Sedere patres, cenſere parati,
Si regnum, ſi Templa ſibi, jugulumque Senatus,
Exiliumque petat.——

Lucan. Pharſal. L. 3. v. 108.

Thus fell *Rome*, the Glory and Miſtreſs of the Earth, and the Earth with it, under the Yoke of a Tyrant, whoſe Parts encreaſed his Guilt, and made him the more dreadful. From the numberleſs Miſchiefs which he had done to get Power, the higheſt were apprehended from him now he was poſſeſſed of it; and it was not doubted, but he would have proceeded to Maſſacre and Conflagration, had he been provoked by Oppoſition.

——*Namque ignibus atris*
Creditur ut captæ rapturus Mænia Romæ,

Lucan. ut ſupra, v. 99.

And therefore moſt of the Senators were fled with *Pompey*, and *Rome* was left defenceleſs to the Sword of the Uſurper.

What now had the *Romans* to do in this calamitous Caſe, under this enormous Oppreſſor; owing them Duty and Allegiance as one of their own Citizens, but like a barbarous Conqueror and an Alien, holding them in Bonds with his Sword at their Throats? Law, Liberty, and Appeals were no more! A Tyrant was their chief Magiſtrate, his Will their only Law. Becauſe he had murdered one half of the People, had he therefore a Right to govern the reſt? And becauſe he had robbed them of moſt of their Property, were they

obliged to give him the Remainder? Does the Succeſs of a Criminal ſanctify his Crime, or are Crimes ſanctified by their Greatneſs? If only an Intention to deſtroy the State, was High Treaſon and Death; how did the executing of that execrable Intention become lawful Government, and acquire a Right of Allegiance?

I ſay, what remained now to the *Romans* to be done for Relief? As to legal Proceſs againſt *Cæſar*, there could be none; *omnia Cæſar erat!* Nor was there any publick Force great enough to oppoſe him. He had before deſtroyed or corrupted the Armies of the Commonwealth. Or, if a new Army could have been drawn together, ought an Opportunity to have been given him to have deſtroyed that too? Or, was it lawful to kill him, and Twenty or Thirty Thouſand Men with him, and perhaps with the like Slaughter on the other Side, and with the Loſs of the beſt and braveſt *Romans* whom his Ambition had left unmurthered; and yet was it unlawful to kill him, without all this Apparatus, Expence, and Miſchief? Strange! that the killing by Surprize a ſingle Traytor and Parricide, who had forfeited his Life by all the Laws of God and Man, ſhould be eſteemed a heinous and crying Crime; and yet that the ſurprizing and cutting to Pieces a whole Army ſhould be reckoned heroick Virtue!

It was a known Maxim of Liberty amongſt the great, the wiſe, the free Antients, that a Tyrant was a Beaſt of Prey, which might be killed by the Spear as well as by a fair Chace, in his Court as well as in his Camp; that every Man had a Right to deſtroy one who would deſtroy all Men; that no Law ought to be given him who took

took away all Law; and that, like *Hercules's* Monſters, it was glorious to rid the World of him, whenever, and by what Means ſoever, it could be done.

If we read the Stories of the moſt celebrated Heroes of Antiquity (Men of whom the preſent World is not worthy) and conſider the Actions that gained them their higheſt Reverence and Renown, and recommended their Names to Poſterity with the moſt Advantage; we ſhall find thoſe in the firſt Rank of Glory, who have reſiſted, deſtroyed, or expelled Tyrants and Uſurpers, the Peſts, the Burthens, and the Butchers of Mankind. What can be more meritorious, what more beneficent to the World, than the ſaving of Millions of Men at the Expence of one grand Murderer, one mercileſs and univerſal Plunderer? And can there be any better or other Reaſon given for the killing of any guilty Man, but the preſerving of the Innocent? Indeed, an Action ſo glorious to thoſe that did it, and ſo benevolent and advantageous to thoſe for whom it was done, could never have been cenſured in the World, if there had not lived in all Ages, abject Flatterers, and ſervile Creatures of Power, always prepared to ſanctify and abet any the moſt enormous Wickedneſs, if it were gainful: And theſe are they who have often miſled good Men in the worſt Prejudices.

Timoleon, one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous Men that ever bleſſed this Earth, ſpent a long and glorious Life in deſtroying Tyrants; he killed, or cauſed to be killed, his own Brother, when he could not perſuade him to lay down an uſurped Power, and no other Means were left to ſave his

Country. And if this Action coſt him afterwards much Grief and Melancholy, it was owing to his own tender Heart, and the Curſes and Reproaches of a Mother otherwiſe indulgent. He was even cenſured for this his Sorrow, as if it had got the better of his Love to Mankind; and when he at laſt overcame it, he ſhewed that it was not occaſioned for having ſlain a Tyrant, but his Brother; for he immortalized the reſt of his Life in doing nothing elſe but deſtroying Tyrants, and reſtoring Liberty.

But if the killing *Cæſar* were ſo great a Crime, how comes *Catiline* to be ſtill ſo univerſally deteſted for only intending what *Cæſar* accompliſhed? It is true, *Cæſar* did not burn *Rome*; nor did he ſave it out of any Tenderneſs to it, but ſaved it for himſelf: He ſpared Fire only, becauſe the Sword was ſufficient. I would here ask another Queſtion — If *Oliver Cromwell* had died by any of the numerous Conſpiracies formed to take away his Life; would Poſterity have condemned the Action for this Reaſon alone, that it was done the only Way that it could be done?

But there is an Inſtance in the *Roman* Hiſtory, that will ſet this Matter yet in a fuller Light — it is the Story of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* Slave and Gladiator, who bid fair for being Lord of the *Roman* World. He ſeems to me to have had perſonal Qualifications and Abilities, as great as thoſe of *Cæſar*, without *Cæſar*'s Birth and Education, and without the Meaſure of *Cæſar*'s Guilt. For I hope all Mankind will allow it a leſs Crime in any Man to attempt to recover his own Liberty, than wantonly and cruelly to deſtroy the Liberty of his Country.

It

It is aſtoniſhing to conſider, how a poor Slave, from the Whip and the Chain, followed only by about Seventy fugitive Gladiators, ſhould begin a Revolt from the moſt powerful State that ever the World ſaw; ſhould gather and form by his Courage and Dexterity a formidable Army; ſhould inſpire Reſolution and Fidelity into the very Dregs of Mankind; ſhould qualify his ſudden Soldiers, compoſed of Thieves and Vagabonds, to face and defeat the *Roman* Legions, that were a Terror to the World, and had conquered it; ſhould keep together, without Pay or Authority, a raw and lawleſs Rabble, till he had vanquiſhed Two *Roman* Armies, and one of them a *Prætorian* Army: And even when *Crixus*, his Fellow-Commander, envying his Glory and Succeſs, had with-drawn from him, and carried with him a great Number of his Forces, and was cut to Pieces with Twenty Thouſand of his Men, by *Q. Arrius* the Prætor, yet he ſtilll continued to conquer. He beat that very *Arrius* that had killed *Crixus*; he defeated *Lentulus* the Conſul; he overcame *L. Gellius* another Conſul; and in all likelihood, had he not been weakened by the above Defection of *Crixus*, he had beat *Craſſus* too, and ſeen himſelf Lord of *Rome*.

Now I would ask the Advocates of lawleſs Power, the Friends to the Life and Name of *Cæſar*, whether *Spartacus*, if he had ſucceeded in his laſt Battle againſt *Craſſus*, had been lawful and irreſiſtible King of *Rome*? And whether the Senate and People of *Rome*, with the greateſt Part of the known World, would have owed him Duty and Allegiance? Or would he not have continued ſtill a Thief and a Robber? And if he had

continued ſo, then by all the Laws of Nature and Self-Preſervation, as well as by the municipal Laws of every Country in the World, every Man was at Liberty to ſeize him how he could, and to kill him if he reſiſted, or run away.

Tell me, O ye unlimited Slaves, ye Beaſts of lawleſs Power, ye loyal Levellers of Right and Wrong! how came *Cæſar* by a better Title to Dominion than *Spartacus* had, whoſe Sword was as good, though not quite ſo proſperous and deſtructive, as *Cæſar*'s? Tell me where lay the Difference between them, unleſs in their different Succeſs, and that *Spartacus* was as great a Man, but *Cæſar* a greater Traytor and Tyrant?

Indeed, had Sir *Robert Filmer*, or any other of the honeſt and ſage Diſcoverers of *Adam*'s right Heir, lived in thoſe Days (as they have done ſince, and plainly pointed him out) and complimented *Cæſar*, as doubtleſs they would, with a lineal and hereditary Title from *Æneas*, *wandring Prince of Troy*; he might have been called the Lord's Anointed, as well as others, and his Aſſaſſination been accounted Rebellion, and worſe than the Sin of Witchcraft. But as I do not find that *Cæſar*, though he valued himſelf upon his Deſcent from the pious *Trojan* Hero, did yet claim any dictatorial Right by Virtue of his illuſtrious Parentage; I have therefore taken Liberty to treat him as a mere Traytor, an Uſurper, and a Tyrant.

G

I am, &c.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *December* 9, 1721. No. 56.

A Vindication of Brutus *for having killed* Cæſar.

SIR,

HAVING proved in my laſt, I think unanſwerably, that *Cæſar* was rightly killed; I will here inquire, whether *Brutus* and the other Tyrannicides did right in killing him? And methinks, if it has been ſhewn that he ought to have been ſlain as an Enemy to every *Roman* Citizen, and virtuous Man; every *Roman* Citizen, and every virtuous Man, had a Right to ſlay him.

But ſince there are in our World ſo many little and cramped Spirits, who dare not think out of the vulgar Path, though ever ſo crooked and dark, and perhaps firſt ſtruck out by Ignorance or Fraud: Narrow Minds, which, locked up in received Syſtems, ſee all Things through falſe Mirrors, and as they are repreſented by ſtrong Prejudices, prevailing Cuſtoms, and very often by Corruption and Party-Intereſt: I ſhall, as I have Occaſion, endeavour to diſperſe theſe thick and deceitful Miſts from before weak Eyes, and ſhall conſider the preſent Queſtion, as well as all others that come before me, as they appear in their own Nature, independent on the Quirks of Pedants, and the narrow Juriſdiction of inferior Tribunals: I ſhall bring them before the great Tribunal of Heaven; and aſſert the Cauſe of Liberty and Truth, by Arguments deduced from Common Senſe, and the common Good of Mankind.

It is generally alledged againſt *Brutus*, and ſome of thoſe who joined with him in this great Action, that they were highly obliged by *Cæſar*; which is a ſtrange Objection. How were they obliged? He gave *Brutus* a Life, which he could not take from him without Murther; and did a mighty generous Thing in not murthering *Brutus* for defending his Country, animated by his own virtuous Spirit, and the known Laws of *Rome!* This is the Obligation of a Highwayman, who, taking away your Money, which is all he wants, kindly leaves you your Life. Are you obliged in Honour, Conſcience, or Common Senſe, to ſpare the Robber, becauſe he was not a Murderer? Or are you obliged not to purſue and take him, and to kill him, if he refuſe to ſubmit? In truth, *Cæſar* was one of the greateſt Robbers and Murderers that ever lived: Every Man ſlain in that unjuſt, bloody, and unnatural War, which he wantonly and maliciouſly made upon his Country, was murdered: And the World was the mighty Spoil which he gained by univerſal Murder and Rapine. He was, in ſhort, a Man ſo conſummately wicked, that the ſtrongeſt Words which you can uſe, and the bittereſt Inſtances which you can bring, to paint out him and his Actions, will be but faint compared to him and his Actions.

As to the Places and Favours conferred upon *Brutus*, by *Cæſar*, they were not *Cæſar*'s, but *Rome*'s. He was only *Rapti Largitor*. *Cæſar* had no Right to the Publick, nor to diſpoſe of it, or its Emoluments. It was all barefaced Uſurpation. Beſides, when Favours of this, or any kind, with-hold a Man from his Duty, they are miſchievous Baits and Corruptions, and ought to

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bind no Man, as they never will a virtuous Man. And we ſee how *Brutus*, who was the moſt virtuous Man upon Earth, underſtood and diſregarded them.

They were only the artful Shackles of a Tyrant, intended to bind the bold and free Mind of *Brutus* to his Intereſt: But he, who owed no Allegiance but to the Commonwealth, ſcorned the deceitful Smiles and Generoſity of its Oppreſſor; who was bribing him to be his Slave, with the Gifts and Offices of his Country, to which he himſelf had no Title, but *Brutus* had every Title. This therefore was a Piece of impudent Civility, which *Brutus* could not but deteſt, as it was a ſhameful and melancholy Proof of *Cæſar*'s Tyranny, and of his own and *Rome*'s Vaſſalage. They were hollow and deſtructive Favours; it was High-Treaſon to be the Author of them: And was not Death ſignally due to ſuch High-Treaſon? *Brutus* therefore made the propereſt Return.

Cæſar had uſurped the *Roman* World, and was cantoning it out to his Creatures as became a Tyrant, and paying his perſonal Creatures with the publick Bounty. As the worſt Tyrants muſt have ſome Friend; and as the beſt Men do them the moſt Credit, and bring them the moſt Support, if ſuch can be got; *Cæſar* had Senſe enough to know, that he could never buy *Brutus* too dear, and ſo paid him great Court. But *Brutus* ſaw the Tyrant's Deſign, and his own Shame; and every Civility was a freſh Provocation. It was, as if a Thief breaking into a Houſe to rob a Lady of her Jewels, ſpoke thus to her Son; *Sir, pray permit me, or aſſiſt me to cut your Mother's Throat and ſeize her*

her Treaſure, and I will generouſly reward you with your Life, and lend you one or two of her Diamonds to ſparkle in as long as I think fit. Could ſuch a villainous Civility as this engage the Son, eſpecially a virtuous Son, to any thing but Revenge? And would not the only Way that he could take it, be the beſt Way?

Cæſar took from *Brutus* his Liberty, and his legal Title to his Life and his Eſtate, and gave him in Lieu of it a precarious one during his own arbitrary Will and Pleaſure: Upon the ſame Terms he gave him ſome mercenary Employments, as Hire for that great good Man's Aſſiſtance to ſupport his Tyranny. Could the great and free Soul of *Brutus* brook this? Could *Brutus* be the Inſtrument or Confederate of lawleſs Luſt? *Brutus* receive Wages from an Oppreſſor! That great, virtuous, and popular *Brutus*; who, if the Commonwealth had ſubſiſted, might from his Reputation, Birth, Abilities, and his excellent Worth, have challenged the moſt honourable and advantageous Offices in it, without owing Thanks to *Cæſar*.

So that the Injuries done by *Cæſar* to *Brutus* were great, heinous, and many; and the Favours none. All the Mercy ſhewn by *Cæſar* was Art and Affectation, and pure Self-Love. He had found in the *Roman* People ſo univerſal a Deteſtation of the bloody Meaſures of *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Sylla:* He ſaw the whole Empire ſo reduced and enervated by repeated Proſcriptions and Maſſacres, that he thought it his Intereſt to eſtabliſh his new-erected Dominion by different Meaſures; and to reconcile, by a falſe and hypocritical Shew of Clemency, the Minds of Men, yet bleeding with their late and former Wounds, to his Uſurpation.

pation. That *Cæſar*, the uſurping and deſtructive *Cæſar*, who had ſlaughtered Millions, and wantonly made Havock of human Race, had any other ſort of Mercy, than the Mercy of Policy and Deceit, will not be pretended by any Man, that knows his and the *Roman* Story. *Brutus* therefore being the moſt reverenced and popular Man in *Rome*, it became the Craft of the Tyrant to make *Brutus* his Friend; it was adding a ſort of Sanctity to a wicked Cauſe: Whereas the Death of *Brutus* by *Cæſar*, would have made *Cæſar* odious and dreadful even amongſt his own Followers.

But it is ſaid, that *Brutus* ſubmitted to *Cæſar*, and was bound by his own Act. Here the Allegation is true, but the Conſequence falſe. Did not *Brutus* ſubmit to *Cæſar*, as innocent Men are often forced to ſubmit to the Gallies, the Wheel, and the Gibbet? He ſubmitted as a Man robbed and bound ſubmits to a Houſe-breaker, who with a Piſtol at his Heart, forces from him a Diſcovery of his Treaſure, and a Promiſe not to proſecute him. Such Engagements are not only void in themſelves, but aggravate the Injury, and become themſelves freſh Injuries. By the Law of Nature and Reaſon, as well as by the poſitive Inſtitutions of every Country, all Promiſes, Bonds, or Oaths, extorted by Dureſs, that is, by unlawful Impriſonments or Menaces, are not obligatory: It is, on the contrary, a Crime to fulfil them; becauſe an Acquieſcence in the Impoſitions of lawleſs Villains, is abetting lawleſs Villains.

Beſides, it was not in the Power of *Brutus* to alter his Allegiance, which he had already engaged to the Commonwealth, which had done nothing

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to forfeit the ſame. For how lawful ſoever it be for Subjects to transfer their Obedience to a Conqueror, in a Foreign War, when the former Civil Power can no longer protect them; or to a new Magiſtrate made by Conſent, when the old had forfeited or reſigned: It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that they can transfer it to a domeſtick Traytor and Robber; who is under the ſame Ties and Allegiance with themſelves, and by all Acts of Violence, Treaſon, and Uſurpation, extorts a Submiſſion from his oppreſſed Maſters and Fellow-Subjects — At leaſt ſuch Allegiance can never be re-engaged, whilſt any Means in Nature are left to rid the World of ſuch a Monſter.

It is a poor Charge againſt *Brutus*, that *Cæſar* intended him for his Heir and Succeſſor. *Brutus* ſcorned to ſucceed a Tyrant: And what more glorious for *Brutus*, than thus to own that the dangerous and betwitching Proſpect of the greateſt Power that ever mortal Man poſſeſſed, could not ſhake the firm and virtuous Heart of *Brutus*, nor corrupt his Integrity? To own that no perſonal Conſiderations, even the higheſt upon Earth, could reconcile him to a Tyrant; and that he preferred the Liberty of the World, to the Empire of the World!

The above Charges therefore againſt *Brutus*, can hardly come from any but thoſe, who, like the profane and ſlaviſh *Eſau*, would ſell their Birthright for a Meſs of Pottage; would ſacrifice their Duty to their Intereſt; and, unconcerned what becomes of the reſt of Mankind, would promote Tyranny, if they might but ſhine in its Trappings. But an honeſt Mind, a Mind great and virtuous, ſcorns and hates all Ambition, but that

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of doing Good to Men, and to all Men; it deſpiſes momentary Riches, and ill-gotten Power; it enjoys no vicious and hard-hearted Pleaſures, ariſing from the Miſeries of others: But it wiſhes and endeavours to procure impartial, diffuſive, and univerſal Happineſs to the whole Earth.

This is the Character of a great and good Mind; and this was the great and ſublime Soul of the immortal *Brutus*.

From this Mention of the ſlippery and dangerous Favours of Tyrants, I would juſt obſerve as I go along, that to any Man who values Virtue or Liberty, Twenty Pounds a Year in a free Country, is preferable to the being Firſt Miniſter to the *Great Turk*; whoſe Miniſters, by their Station and Allegiance, are obliged to be Oppreſſors, and are often rewarded with the Bow-ſtring for their moſt faithful Services to their Maſter, and for Services perhaps performed by his Command.

But to return to *Brutus:* He had on his Side, the Law of Self-Preſervation, the Spirit of the *Roman* Conſtitutions, and of thoſe Laws of Liberty, which had ſubſiſted near Five Hundred Years, but were now deſtroyed by the Uſurper. And during all thoſe long and renowned Ages of Liberty, the deſtroying of Tyrants was ever accounted Glory and Heroiſm. And, as every Law of the Commonwealth was againſt *Cæſar*, who was an open Enemy to the Commonwealth; the Commonwealth, and all its Laws, were for *Brutus*, its greateſt and beſt Subject. *Cæſar*'s Laws were none, and worſe than none; but the whole Life and Actions of *Brutus* were agreeable to the Conſtitution of his Country.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe *Brutus*, having killed *Cæſar*, had ſucceeded him: He could not have been a greater Uſurper than *Cæſar* was. And yet would he, in that Caſe, have been leſs ſacred and inviolable than *Cæſar?* I hope the oppreſſing of Mankind, is not a leſs Crime than the killing of their Oppreſſor.

Our *Brutus* could not have greater Ties of Affection to the Tyrant *Cæſar*, who uſurped *Rome*, and deſtroyed its Liberties; than the elder *Brutus* had to his own Sons, whom he put to Death, for a Plot to reſtore the Tyrant *Tarquin*, a Thouſand Times more innocent than *Cæſar*: And as to the ſudden Manner of putting him to Death, *Mutius Scævola* is immortalized for a bold Attempt, to kill by Surprize the *Tuſcan* King *Porſenna*, who was a foreign Enemy, making unjuſt War upon *Rome*, to reſtore *Tarquin*: And the like Immortality is beſtowed upon *Judith*, for killing *Holophernes* deceitfully, when it could be done no other Way. Now both theſe Men were publick Enemies; but neither of them a publick Traytor: *Cæſar* was both; and *dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat?* Was ever *Aratus* mentioned with Reproach, or does Dr. *Prideaux* mention him with Reproach, for ſurprizing and expelling *Nicocles*, Tyrant of *Sicyon*; or has he not gained deathleſs Fame by that worthy Action? And how comes the little Tyrant *Nicocles* to be leſs ſacred than the great Tyrant *Cæſar*, who did Millions of Miſchiefs more than *Nicocles?*

Let us now ſee what Dr. *Prideaux* ſays of *Cæſar*. After having told us, that *he was excited by Ambition and Malice*, that he *juſtly had for the Reward thereof* that Deſtruction by which he fell; the

the Doctor adds theſe Words: "He is ſaid to "have ſlain Eleven Hundred and Ninety-Two "Thouſand Men; which proves him to have "been a terrible Scourge in the Hand of God, for "the Puniſhment of the Wickedneſs of that Age "—And conſequently, he is to be reputed the "greateſt Peſt and Plague, that Mankind had "therein: But notwithſtanding this, his Actions "have with many acquired great Glory to his "Name: Whereas true Glory is due only to "thoſe who benefit, not to thoſe who deſtroy "Mankind."

All this is honeſtly and juſtly ſaid; but I cannot reconcile it to what he has ſaid before, about the Death of that Deſtroyer. Sure, upon his own Principles, never was true Glory more due to any mortal Man, than to *Brutus!* His Life and Studies were laid out in doing Good to Mankind; whereas *Cæſar* was indeed the greateſt Peſt and Plague that Mankind had. For, beſides all the Wickedneſs that he did with his own wicked Hands and Counſels, he fruſtrated all the Purpoſes, Virtue, and Bravery of the old *Romans*, in eſtabliſhing Liberty, and in conquering, poliſhing, and ſetting free great part of the barbarous World. All the Battles that they fought, were fought for him; all the Blood that they ſpilt, was ſpilt for him. *Cæſar* took all, and over-turned all. Beſides, all the numberleſs and heavy Miſchiefs, that the *Roman* World ſuffered from ſucceeding Tyrants, were, in a great Meaſure, owing to *Cæſar*, who eſtabliſhed a Government by Tyrants. He was in this Senſe the Author of all the Barbarity, Rapine, and Butcheries, brought upon the Empire, by the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarians,

barians, who eaſily maſtered an Empire, weakened, and already almoſt deſtroyed, by the Folly, Madneſs, Cruelty, and Prodigality of the Imperial Tyrants, his Succeſſors.

The Doctor takes Notice, that *Caſſius Parmenſis*, being the only remaining Tyrannicide, was put to Death by the Command of *Auguſtus*. And he obſerves upon it, that Murder ſeldom eſcapes the vindictive Hand of God, and eſpecially the Murder of Princes. All this may be true; and yet, What is all this to *Julius Cæſar*? If *Cæſar* was a Prince, any Robber or Murderer that has Force and Villainy enough, may be a Prince; and Blood, and Wounds, and Treaſon, conſtitute a Prince. Every Soldier in *Cæſar*'s Army had as good a Right to the Government of *Rome*, as *Cæſar* had. Was his Stile like that of a Prince, or the Father of his Country, when he told his Soldiers, according to *Petronius*, and agreeably to what he did afterwards;

——— *Ite furentes*
Ite mei comites, & cauſam dicite ferro.
Judice fortuna cadat alea: Sumite bellum;
Inter tot fortes armatus neſcio vinci.

Was not this ſetting up openly Violence and the Sword for a Title? If *Rob Roy* had conquered *Scotland*, with his barbarous Highland Hoſt; would he have been a Prince, Prince of *Scotland*? Was *Cromwell* a Prince? And would *Maſſianello* and *Jack Straw*, had they ſucceeded, have been Princes?

As to *Cæſar*'s Parts, they added vaſtly to his Crimes, and were, as he applied them, only a great Capacity to do great Miſchief. *Curſe on his Virtues*,

Virtues, they have undone his Country! Beſides, there were doubtleſs many Men in *Rome*, who had equal Parts, and infinitely more Merit. *Brutus* particularly had.—The Devil has much greater Abilities than *Cæſar* had, and is alſo a Prince, a very great Prince; the Executioner of God's Vengeance too, the greateſt Executioner: And yet are we not expreſly commanded to reſiſt him? The Plague is often the Inſtrument of God's Judgment, are we therefore not to reſiſt the Plague, by proper Diet and Antidotes? The Bite of an Adder may be the Judgment of God; Is it therefore a Sin to tread upon the Adder's Head and kill him? Or are Antidotes againſt all other Plagues lawful; but none lawful againſt the worſt, the moſt laſting and deſtructive of all Plagues, the Plague of Tyranny? Or is an Adder leſs ſacred than a Tyrant? And why? I hope God made Adders as well as *Cæſar*. A Storm may be a Judgment; muſt we not therefore diſcharge a great Gun againſt it, in order to diſperſe it? Or pray how comes one Sort of the Inſtruments of God's Judgment to be more ſacred than another? I am ſure, God deteſts Tyrants; and if they be God's Miniſters, ſo are Plagues and Serpents, and ſo is *Satan* himſelf.

Brutus was one of the propereſt Perſons to kill *Cæſar*; as he was of all the Men in *Rome* the moſt reverenced and popular. His Wiſdom, and Virtue, and publick Spirit, were known and adored: The Conſent of the Senate, and of all good Men, was with him; none but the proſtitute Creatures of Power, and thoſe that ambitiouſly ſought it, with their deceived and hireling Followers, condemned him; nor durſt even they at firſt. But *Brutus* out of his too great Goodneſs

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and Generoſity, ſpared *Anthony*, who ought to have accompanied *Cæſar*. But while the wild *Anthony* remained, the Root of the Evil was not quite plucked up. He began a new War upon his Country. The Senate however declared for the Tyrannicides, declared *Mark Anthony* a publick Enemy for making War upon *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of them; and ſent both the Conſuls with an Army againſt *Anthony*, in Defence of *Brutus*: And had it not been for the treacherous and ungrateful young *Cæſar*, the Commonwealth would have been, in all likelihood, thoroughly eſtabliſhed. But this young Traytor, like his Uncle *Julius*, turned the Arms of the Commonwealth upon the Commonwealth, and joined with its Enemy *Mark Anthony*, to oppreſs it.

The terrible Proceedings and bloody Proſcriptions that followed this Agreement are well known. Nor is it at all ſtrange, that not one of the Tyrannicides ſurvived the Civil War, or died a natural Death. They were almoſt all Soldiers and Commanders, and were either moſtly ſlain in Battle, or by the Command of the Conquerors: Their Enemies got the better, and they had no where to fly to. The World was poſſeſſed by the Uſurpers. If *Brutus* and *Caſſius* killed themſelves, rather than fall into their Enemies Hands, and adorn the Triumphs of ſucceſsful Traytors; ſeveral of the Chiefs of the other Party did alſo kill themſelves during the War; particularly *Dolabella*, and many of the Principals of his Party at *Antioch*, when *Caſſius* beſieged them there. Was this alſo a Judgment?

Brutus and *Caſſius* kill'd themſelves! What then? Was it not done like *Romans*, like virtuous old

old *Romans*, thus to prefer Death to Slavery? It was a *Roman* Spirit; and thoſe who poſſeſſed it, did as much diſdain to be Tyrants, as to ſubmit to Tyranny; a Spirit that ſcorned an ignominious Life, held only at the Mercy of an Uſurper, or by flattering his Villainy and abetting his Uſurpations; and a Spirit, which thoſe that want it can never admire. Great Souls are not comprehended by Small! It is undoubtedly true, that by the Precepts of Chriſtianity we are not at Liberty to diſpoſe of our own Lives; but are to wait for the Call of Heaven to alleviate or end our Calamities: But the *Romans* had no other Laws to act by, but the natural Dictates of uncorrupted Reaſon. I call upon the great Pretenders to Philoſophy and refined Morals, to aſſign one fair Reaſon, why a *Roman*, why *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, ſhould prefer a miſerable Life to an honourable Death; ſhould bear Vaſſalage, Chains, and Tortures of Body or Mind, when all thoſe Evils were to be avoided by doing only that, which by the Courſe of Nature every Man muſt ſoon do. It is better not to be, than to be unhappy; and the ſevereſt Judgment on the Wicked is, that they ſhall live for ever, and can never end their Miſeries: Much leſs can it be any Service to Society, to keep alive by Art or Force a melancholy, miſerable, and uſeleſs Member, grown perhaps burdenſome too by Age and Infirmities.

In this Light we muſt view the Actions of the old *Romans*, guided only by Nature, and unreſtrained from Suicide by any Principles of their Religion. We find, on the contrary, in Hiſtory, many Examples of the great and magnanimous Heroes of Antiquity, chuſing voluntary Death, often

often in the midſt of Health, with the greateſt Calmneſs of Mind; ſometimes from Satiety of Life and Glory, either when they could gain no more; or apprehending that the future Caprices of unconſtant Fortune might ſully the paſt; and oftner ſtill, to avoid ſubmitting to Diſgrace and Servitude.

A voluntary Death from ſuch Motives as theſe, was, among the Ancients, one of the Paths to Immortality; and, under certain Circumſtances, none but mean and abject Minds declined it. *Roman* Ladies often choſe it. *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, choſe a long premeditated Death, rather than be led Captive to *Rome*. And when *Perſeus* ſent to *P. Æmilius*, beſeeching him with all Earneſtneſs, That ſo great a Prince, late Lord of *Macedon*, and good part of *Greece*, might not be led, like a Slave, in Chains at his Chariot Wheels, to grace his Triumph; he received this ſhort Anſwer, that *It was in his own Power to prevent it:* Thus ſignifying to him, that he deſerved the Diſgrace, if he would live to bear it.

Even under the Diſpenſations of a new Religion, which God Almighty condeſcended perſonally to teach Mankind, Human Nature has prevailed ſo far over revealed Truths, that in Multitudes of Inſtances a voluntary Death is approved, at leaſt not condemned, by almoſt the greateſt part of the World. Men in extreme Pain and Agonies do often refuſe Phyſick, and the Means of preſerving their Lives, Days, Weeks, and Months longer. Men in lingring and deſperate Diſtempers, go, uncalled, to mount a Breach in a Siege, or into the midſt of the Battle, to meet certain Death. Great Commanders have done the

the ſame, when the Day went againſt them, rather than ſurvive being beaten. Commanders of Ships have blown up themſelves and their Ships, rather than be the Prey of the Conqueror. Towns beſieged, when they could defend themſelves no longer, have firſt burnt their Town, then precipitated themſelves deſperately amongſt their Enemies, to procure an honourable Death and Revenge. Even common Malefactors often chuſe to die, rather than diſcover their Accomplices; and always get Credit by doing ſo. And the Stories of the *Decij*, of *Celanus*, of the great *Cato*, and even of *Otho*, and many other of the great Examples of Antiquity, made immortal by this Act of ancient Heroiſm, are ſtill read with Admiration.

I ſhall, for a Concluſion of this long Paper, give my Readers the Sentiments of the excellent Mr. *Cowley*, concerning *Brutus* and *Cæſar*, in his Ode, intitled *BRUTUS*.

Can we ſtand by and ſee
Our Mother robb'd, and bound, and raviſh'd be,
Yet not to her Aſſiſtance ſtir,
Pleas'd with the Strength and Beauty of the Raviſher?
Or ſhall we fear to kill him, if before
The cancell'd Name of Friend he bore?
Ingrateful Brutus *do they call?*
Ingrateful Cæſar, *who could* Rome *inthral!*
An Act more barbarous and unnatural
(In th'exact Ballance of true Virtue tried)
Than his Succeſſor Nero's *Parricide!*
* * * * * * * * * * *
What Mercy could the Tyrant's Life deſerve
From him who kill'd himſelf rather than ſerve?
* * *

* * * * * * * * * * *

What Joy can human Things to us afford,
When we ſee periſh thus by odd Events,
By ill Men and wretched Accidents,
The beſt Cauſe, and beſt Man that ever drew a Sword?
When we ſee
The falſe Octavius *and wild* Anthony,
God-like Brutus! *conquer Thee?*

G I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 16, 1721. No. 57.

Of falſe Honour, publick and private.

SIR,

I Have more than once complained in theſe Letters, that the beſt Things being moſt abuſed are capable of doing the greateſt Harm: Nor is it a new Obſervation, whatever new Occaſion there may be, at all Times to repeat it. Men have been ever deceived by good Names into an Approbation of ill Things, ſanctified by theſe Names. Impoſture and Deluſion have been called Religion, and thought ſo; Oppreſſion and Rapine have been called Government, and eſteemed Government. Teachers have degenerated into Deceivers, Submiſſion into Slavery, Taxation into Plundering, Protection into Deſtruction, and Magiſtrates into Murderers, without changing their Names: Power and Right have been ever confounded; and Succeſs, or the want of Succeſs, has turned Villainy into Virtue, and Virtue into Villainy.

Hence

Hence it is that little Crimes and ſmall Criminals have been deteſted and puniſhed, while great Malefactors have been generally reverenced and obeyed: and that little Rogues have been called Thieves, and hanged; and great Thieves have been ſtiled Conquerors and Princes, and ſometimes deified. Your *Alexanders* and *Cæſars* were only Felons above the Gallows, and ſo have been many others of much leſs Figure than they. Great Crimes protect themſelves, and one another; ſo that, in effect, Crimes are not always puniſhed becauſe they are Crimes, but becauſe they are not mighty Crimes; nor in the inflicting of Puniſhments, has the Offence or the Offender been conſidered, but only the Figure of the Offender; who, if he were poor and neceſſitous, has been put to Death; if great and ambitious, has been protected or preferred. And thus it is, that Halters and Garters, Axes and White Staves, Palaces and Dungeons, have been often miſerably confounded and miſplaced.

Thus are the Boundaries and Diſtinction between Good and Evil almoſt loſt in the World. To illuſtrate this in every Inſtance that deſerves Illuſtration, would be to write a Folio inſtead of a Letter; at preſent I ſhall confine myſelf to the Conſideration of falſe Honour, which has done much more Miſchief to Mankind than ever real Honour did Good, as it is more conducing to the little perſonal Gratifications, and the crooked Self-Ends of particular Men.

True Honour is an Attachment to honeſt and beneficent Principles, and a good Reputation; and prompts a Man to do Good to others, and indeed to all Men, at his own Coſt, Pains, or Peril.

Falſe Honour is a Pretence to this Character, but does Things that deſtroy it: And the Abuſe of Honour is called Honour, by thoſe who from that good Word borrow Credit to act baſely, raſhly, or fooliſhly.

A Man cannot act honourably in a bad Cauſe. That he thinks it a good Cauſe, is not a good Excuſe; for Folly and Miſtake is not Honour: Nor is it a better Excuſe that he is engaged in it, and has pledged his Faith to ſupport it, and act for it; for this is to engage his Honour againſt Honour, and to liſt his Faith in a War againſt Truth. To ſay that he is aſhamed to deſert it, is to ſay that he is aſhamed to do an honeſt Thing; and that he prefers falſe Shame to true Honour, which engages the Man that poſſeſſes it to hate and break all criminal Engagements. If a Man enter into a Party or Society, becauſe he thinks it an honeſt Society, is he obliged to continue in it, when he finds it a Society of Knaves? And does his Honour oblige him to be a Knave too, or to deſert thoſe that are Knaves? Or, does a Robber who leaves the Gang, violate his Honour, which was only an Obligation to rob?

A good Conſcience, an honeſt Heart, and clean Hands, are inſeparable from true Honour; nor does true Honour teach any Man to act againſt his Judgment. It muſt be convinced before it acts, and mere Authority has no Weight with it. In human Matters, it does not conſider what is commanded, but what ought to be commanded; and before it executes an Injunction, enquires whether the ſame be rational and juſt. When ſuperior Orders are unjuſt, the Honour of Obedience is taken away; for Honour is not the Inſtrument

of

of Evil; it is therefore falſe and pretended Honour to execute and vindicate a bad Action by an unjuſt Command. Indeed, no Command of any Conſequence ought to be obeyed, but what is or ought to be Law, and is not forbidden by any Law.

But this is only Reaſoning, which has but little Force with Men when it combats their Intereſt and worſt Paſſions. To them therefore who follow the Guides of Gain and Ambition, what I have here ſaid is not addreſſed; but to thoſe who, contrary to their Intereſt, follow and approve others whoſe only Principle is Intereſt.

Falſe Honour has more Power over Men than Laws have; and thoſe who deſpiſe all the Ties of Laws, and of Religion and Humanity, are often very exact in obſerving all the fantaſtical and wicked Rules of falſe Honour. There are no Debts ſo punctually paid as thoſe contracted at Play; though there are expreſs Laws againſt Play, and againſt paying of Money won at Play; nay, 'tis penal to pay ſuch Debts. And yet thoſe that are thus exact in paying to their own Ruin, and in Defiance of Law, whatever Debts they contract to avowed Sharpers, who live by cheating and picking Pockets, and are the Deſtruction of Families, and a publick Nuiſance: I ſay, thoſe Men thus exact in Unrighteouſneſs and their own Wrong, ſhall run in Debt to honeſt Tradeſmen, without any Purpoſe of paying them, and unconcerned ſee them broke, impriſoned, and undone, for want of ſuch Payment. So lawleſly juſt are they to Rogues that ruin them, and ſo barbarouſly unjuſt to induſtrious and credulous Men, who feed and cloath them!

Is this Honour! What Dupes are we to Words and to our own Vice and Folly! It is but ſmall Comfort to us that this voluntary Madneſs prevailed of old amongſt our barbarous *German* Anceſtors, of whoſe diſtracted Propenſity to Gaming *Tacitus* gives us this aſtoniſhing Account: *Aleam ſobrii inter ſeria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac noviſſimo Jactû, de libertate & de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam ſervitutem adit, quamvis junior, quamvis robuſtior, adligari ſe ac venire patitur. Ea eſt in re pravâ pervicacia: ipſi fidem vocant.*

" Gaming is one of their moſt ſerious Em-
" ployments, and even ſober they are Gameſters!
" To this raſh Vice they are ſo violently ad-
" dicted, that when they have wantonly loſt all,
" they have not done, but deſperately ſtake their
" Liberty and their Perſons upon the laſt Throw.
" The Loſer goes calmly into Bondage; and,
" though the younger and the ſtronger, ſuffers
" himſelf tamely to be bound and ſold by him
" that wins. Such is their vicious Perſeverance
" in Folly! they themſelves call it Honour."

Our modern Gameſters do not indeed go quite this Length; they only ſell themſelves, with their Families and Poſterity to Beggary: For as to their Bodies, no body will ſtake any Thing againſt them. But in Point of Honour, in Gaming, we ſtill retain the Strictneſs of theſe our polite Anceſtors at Play, and generouſly pay to the laſt Morſel of Bread, and venture Famine rather than a Dun from one that has foiled us at the Art of picking Pockets——As to other Duns, honeſt and neceſſitous Duns, we matter them not; and Debts

of

of real Honour and Conſcience, do not at all touch our Honour.

Thus is Honour ſet up againſt Virtue and Law. Good Laws not executed are worſe than none, and only teach Men to deſpiſe Law; whereas Reverence and Obedience go together. No Law will or can ever be executed by inferior Magiſtrates, while the Breach of it is openly encouraged by the Example of ſuperior. Does any Man think that the beſt Laws, even inſpired Laws againſt Duelling, would have any Effect, if there was at the ſame Time a Duelling-Office kept open at St. *James*'s? The Example of thoſe that ſhould execute Laws, or ſee them executed, is ſtronger than the Authority of thoſe that make them. The Example of *Veſpaſian* did more towards the Reſtraint of Luxury, than all the ſumptuary Laws of *Rome* could do till his Time. *Præcipuus adſtricti moris auctor Veſpaſianus fuit. Obſequium inde in Principem, & æmulandi amor, validior, quam pœna ex legibus & metus.* "*Veſpaſian* was "himſelf a ſpecial Inſtance and Author of Temperance and Frugality. From hence grew in "the People a Reverence for the Example of "the Prince, and an Emulation to conform "their Manners to his —— a Tie much ſtronger than the Dread of Laws and all their Penalties."

It is moreover become a mighty Piece of Honour to repair one Crime by another, and a worſe; and when one has done you an Injury, he muſt, by the Rules of Honour, fight to defend it. Having affronted or harmed you contrary to Juſtice and Honour, he makes you Satisfaction by taking away your Life, according to the Impulſes of true

Honour; ſo here is a War of Honour againſt Honour and Juſtice and common Senſe.

Another Piece of Honour is an Adherence to Error, after Conviction, and not to change a bad Religion for a better. To have been born in a certain Faith, is juſt as good Senſe as to have been born a Lawyer or Mathematician; and yet that ſame is often the beſt and trueſt Reaſon againſt Change! And therefore we often adhere againſt all our Reaſon, to what others ſaid or did for us without our Conſent, and when we had no Reaſon. Becauſe perhaps ſome People promiſed for us when we were a Day old, that we ſhould Forty Years afterwards, and all our Life, count Beads, worſhip unſavory Bones, be governed by Deceivers, and believe Contradictions: Are we therefore obliged to do all this, though we find it to be againſt all Religion? Muſt we be Hypocrites, becauſe our Anceſtors were Fools? Are old Falſhoods and Fooleries the Standard of our Honour? Are we never to mend a wretched Condition, and never to make uſe of our Conſcience? If ſo, then here is a War of Honour againſt Conſcience, a War of Faith againſt Belief, and a War of Religion againſt Perſuaſion!

Another Piece of falſe Honour has ſometimes been that of ſerving a Prince at the Expence of one's Country, though the ſerving of that Country was the only Duty and only Buſineſs of the Prince, and of every Man in Office under him. But this, though a Truth as ſelf-evident as any in the Bible, has been ſo little underſtood or practiſed, that the wicked Execution of impious Engagements made to a Tyrant, againſt thoſe made to Society, has been called Honour. And it has frequently

quently been the Honour of a Courtier, to execute all the ill Purpoſes of a Court againſt his Country. And here was the War of Honour againſt Duty.

The Honour of a Party is to adhere to one another right or wrong; and though their Chief be a Knave and a Traytor, their Honour is engaged to be honeſt to him in all his Rogueries and Treaſon. And this is a War of Honour againſt Honeſty.

The Honour and *bonâ fide* of ſome Princes, have been of that odd and unprincely Contexture, that they were never once reſtrained by the ſame, from deceiving, plaguing, invading, robbing, and uſurping upon their Neighbours, and doing Things which would have entitled a plain Subject to the Gibbet. Their Honour ſeems to have been deeply concerned to have no Honour: And though their Faith was engaged to protect their Subjects; yet their Honour, on the other Side, was engaged to pillage and enſlave them. And here grew the Royal War of Honour againſt Faith and Equity!

How many peaceable Nations have been robbed, how many Millions of Innocents butchered, out of mere Honour, princely Honour? This Honour is indeed ſo wild, miſchievous, and extravagant, that Words, the moſt warm and ſignificant Words, fail in deſcribing it. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin a few Inſtances of its Spirit, and conclude.

His Grace, *Villiers*, firſt Duke of *Buckingham*, engaged his Country in Two mad Wars at once with the Two greateſt Powers in *Europe*, becauſe his Honour had ſuffered a Rebuff in his Attempts to debauch Two great foreign Ladies. *Europe*

was to be embroiled; Lives, Treaſure, and the Safety of Kingdoms to be riſqued and thrown away, to vindicate, forſooth, his Grace's debauched Honour!

Cambyſes, to revenge an Affront put upon his Father many Years before by an *Egyptian* King, in the Buſineſs of ſending him a Wife, involved the World in a Flame of War; and at the Expence of perhaps a Million of Lives, and the Deſtruction of Kingdoms, did at laſt heroically vindicate his Father's Honour and his own, upon the Bones of a dead King, whom he cauſed to be dug up, and, after many Indignities, caſt into the Fire.

White Elephants are rare in Nature, and ſo greatly valued in the *Indies*, that the King of *Pegu* hearing that the King of *Siam* had got Two, ſent an Embaſſy in Form, to deſire one of them of his Royal Brother, at any Price: But being refuſed, he thought his Honour concerned to wage War for ſo great an Affront. So he entered *Siam* with a vaſt Army, and with the Loſs of Five Hundred Thouſand of his own Men, and the Deſtruction of as many of the *Siameſes*, he made himſelf Maſter of the Elephant, and retrieved his Honour.

Darius (I think it was *Darius* the *Mede*) found his Honour concerned to chaſtiſe the *Scythians* for having invaded *Aſia*, a Hundred and Thirty Years before; and loſt a great Army to vindicate his Honour, which yet was not vindicated; that is, he miſſed the white Elephant. For,

In ſhort, Honour and Victory are generally no more than white Elephants; and for white Elephants the moſt deſtructive Wars have been often made.

made. What Man free, either by Birth or Spirit, could, without Pity and Contempt, behold, as in a late *French* Reign he frequently might behold, a Swarm of ſlaviſh *Frenchmen*, in Wooden Shoes, with hungry Bellies, and no Clothes, dancing round a Maypole, becauſe their *Grand Monarque*, at the Expence of a Million of their Money, and Thirty or Forty Thouſand Lives, had acquired a white Elephant, or, in other Words gained a Town or Victory?

Inſtances are endleſs, or elſe I could name other People, who have employed themſelves ſeveral Years in catching white Elephants by Sea and Land; but I am in haſte to conclude.

G.

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 23, 1721. No. 58.

Letter from a Lady; with an Anſwer about Love, Marriage and Settlements.

To CATO.

SIR,

THOUGH Love, abſtracted from Marriage, is a Subject too low for a Stateſman, a Politician, and I might add a Philopher; yet as it relates to that Holy State (as our Church is pleaſed to call it) it is worthy the greateſt Notice; for though many take upon them to ridicule all lawful and honourable Love, and Marriage, which crowns and proves it, yet I will venture to affirm that hardly any Perſon lives a long Life without

deſiring at ſome Part of it to enter into that State: It is like Religion, implanted in our Natures, and all Men have a Notion that 'tis the Way to Happineſs, though all do not practiſe it: The Reaſons of this Want of Practice are many; beſides the Degeneracy of human Nature, the Imperfections of both Sexes make them afraid of ſo cloſe an Affinity; the Want of Conſtancy in the Male Sex, and above all, the Love of Money in both, is the greateſt Scandal and Hindrance to this moſt Honourable State in Life.

I cannot excuſe either Sex (though by this Time, both from my Subject and handling of it, you will gueſs me to be of the weakeſt) from this laſt Vice, the Love of Money; and I might add to it Ambition; for it ſeems to me grown the Rule of Marriage, there being few Alliances contracted of late Years, but where this is the chief Motive on the Man's Side, and almoſt ſo on the Woman's: No Wonder the Ladies ſhould have catched the Vice; for when a Woman finds herſelf ſlighted for no other Want but that of a large Fortune, ſhe muſt needs think it worth purchaſing at any Rate, and neglect all other Merit as uſeleſs.

I do not pretend to ſay that Virtue and Merit, in our Sex, is to be met with in every Corner of the Streets, as I am too ſenſible the contrary is; but ſure I am it is to be found, and Judgment was given to the Men in order to diſtinguiſh it. But, ſay your Sex, is Money then to be deſpiſed? Muſt the contrary be ſought? And has a Lady leſs Merit for having a large Fortune? Not always, but indeed too often; nay, nothing can hinder it but natural good Senſe and Temper, joined

joined to great Care taken in the Education; without that, a ſuperior Fortune makes a worſe Woman, conſequently a worſe Wife.

I was led into this Thought, and which occaſioned this Letter, by a Diſappointment that a young Lady I had a Friendſhip for met with lately, with relation to this Subject, which coſt her her Life.

She was addreſſed to by a Gentleman, whoſe good Senſe and Agreeableneſs would, ſhe thought, attone for ſome natural Defects and Infirmities, which ſhe had Penetration enough to find out in his Temper and Diſpoſition; among which, his Love of Money was not the leaſt: He was ſuperior to her in Fortune, but ſhe was a Gentlewoman born, and bred ſo, and in every Reſpect but Money, his Equal: She reſolved to ſuit herſelf to his Humour, and fancied herſelf cut out to pleaſe and make him happy, not out of Vanity, but Inclination to do ſo. She had Pride, and did not greatly care to be obliged, even by the Man whom ſhe loved; but fancied ſhe could ſave up a Fortune to him in a few Years, and with the refuſing of Preſents and reſigning of Settlements, attone in great Meaſure for the want of it. He thought it worth while to deceive her for a conſiderable Length of Time, for what Reaſon I cannot gueſs, ſhe being a Woman of undoubted Character, which he had known for ſome Years before, and all her Actions anſwered it: But in ſhort he left her, and that in ſo abrupt and rude a Manner as made her bear it worſe, not ſhewing the leaſt Abatement of his Paſſion the laſt Time he ſaw her, more than at the firſt. I wiſh that he had truſted her with the Secret of forſaking her,

for

for I dare ſay ſhe would have taken it handſomely, and (for his Advantage) given him up.

The Diſappointment met her under an Indiſpoſition of Body, elſe I believe ſhe had good Senſe, Reaſon, and Reſentment enough to have got the better on it. But ſhe died, and without reproaching of him, or behaving herſelf unhandſomely, ſhe ſaid ſhe was inclined to believe that there was a Fate in Things of that Nature, and wiſhed him happier than (ſhe doubted) he deſerved.

He is now upon the Brink of Marriage to a Lady, that I dare ſay he does not like half ſo well as this Lady whom he left for her; but ſhe has more Money abundantly, which he does not want; and then, though as I ſaid before, Money is no Objection, nor need a Woman be ſought out that wants it, yet I would not have a Man venture to leave a Woman for no other Reaſon, leſt he (as too probably he may) chance to repent it.

Sir, if you think this Subject, or our Sex, worthy your Notice, we ſhall be obliged to you; you are an Author, I might ſay it to your Face, capable of ſerving any Cauſe that you undertake, ours is a charitable one; I am out of the Queſtion myſelf, with relation to making my Fortune, or it might not have been ſo proper for me to have ſtarted this Subject, though obſcure; but I have a general Love for Mankind, and particularly for my own Sex, whoſe Cauſe I commit to you, as into the Hands of a moſt powerful Advocate, and (I hope) a willing Patron. My Sincerity on this Subject cannot be doubted, when I moſt humbly ſubſcribe myſelf of that Sex, whoſe Cauſe I recommend, *viz.*

A WOMAN.

To the Lady who wrote the Foregoing.

Madam,

YOU will eaſily believe me, when I acquaint you, that I am not a little proud of the Honour you have done me, in thinking me worthy of the Correſpondence of a Lady, to whom Nature has ſhewn herſelf ſo indulgent. She ſeldom leaves her own Work imperfect; and therefore, I doubt not but ſhe has been propitious to you more Ways than one: And I am perſwaded, that if you had been the firſt Object of the inconſtant *Strephon*'s Adoration, he had never worſhipped any falſe Goddeſs.

I can aſſure you, Madam, you could never have recommended yourſelf ſo much to me, or have obliged me more, than in engaging me in this agreeable Manner in the Cauſe of helpleſs Innocence, and diſtreſſed Virtue; and in giving me an Opportunity to conſider the greater and better Half of the World in their neareſt and moſt engaging Relation. I am by Profeſſion, a Knight-Errant: It is my Buſineſs to right Wrongs and redreſs Injuries, and none more than thoſe done to your tender Sex.

It is a Subject which employs my ſofteſt and moſt delicate Thoughts and Inclinations; which I can in nothing gratify ſo much, as by contributing to the Eaſe and Happineſs of that Sex, to whom we owe moſt of our own.

That Cordial Drop Heaven in our Cup has thrown,
To make the nauſeous Draught of Life go down:

And

And to attone for the Thouſands, Ten Thouſands of Evils, to which human Condition is ſubject.

Hercules himſelf laid down his Club, and took up a Diſtaff: And,

———*furious* Mars,
The only Governour and God of Wars,
When tired with Heat and Toil, does oft reſort,
To taſte the Pleaſures of the Paphian *Court.*

I do not therefore depart from my Character, or deſert my Duty, in conſidering this Subject, and attending upon the Concerns of the Fair: With their Cauſe, the Cauſe of Liberty is blended; and ſcarce any Man will be much concerned for publick Happineſs, unleſs he enjoys domeſtick: Publick Happineſs being nothing elſe but the Magiſtrate's protecting of private Men in their Property, and their Enjoyments. It is certain, that a Man's Intereſt, in Point of Happineſs and Pleaſures, is in no Inſtance ſo much concerned as in that of Marriage; which being the happieſt or unhappieſt State in the World, muſt moſtly conſtitute his Happineſs or Miſery.

The Beauty, the Vigour, the Wit, and conſequently the Preferment of his Poſterity, do much depend upon the Choice of his Wife, and poſſibly upon his Inclinations to her, and hers to him. We are very careful of the Breed of our Horſes, of our Cocks, and our Dogs, and as remarkably neglectful of the Education of our Children; and yet we dedicate Two Thirds of our Subſtance to our Poſterity: For ſo much is the Difference between the Purchaſe of Eſtates of Inheritance, and of Eſtates only for our own Lives.

Our

Our Wealth does alſo depend in a great Meaſure upon domeſtick Sympathy and Concord; and it is a true Proverb, that a Man muſt ask Leave of his Wife to be rich: So great a Share of his Subſtance and Proſperity muſt remain in her Power, and at her Diſcretion, and under her Management, that if he would thrive and be happy himſelf, he muſt make her ſo.

In order to this, he ought to chuſe one whoſe Temper, good Senſe, and Agreeableneſs, ſhall make him find his Pleaſure in obliging her; and by Conſtancy and endearing Actions make her wholly his own, and to do all in her Power to oblige him. No Man can live in a conſtant State of Hypocriſy in his own Family; but if he has Diſtaſtes they will certainly break out; or at leaſt be found out by one who is always about him, and whoſe conſtant Buſineſs it is to obſerve him, and his Humours and Affections. And therefore, it is his beſt and only Way to find out ſuch a one, as he need not counterfeit a Kindneſs to.

In all my Obſervation, a good Husband rarely miſſes to make a good Wife. The Hearts of Women are naturally ſo tender, their Paſſions towards their Husbands ſo ſtrong, their Happineſs and the Reſpect which they meet with in the World are ſo much owing to their Husbands, that we ſeldom find a married Woman who will not with a little real, and often with but a ſeeming Kindneſs, do whatever a prudent Husband will deſire of her; and often to oblige him, more than he deſires. And what can be more barbarous, than to uſe one ill who throws herſelf into his Power, and depends upon his Protection; who gives

gives up all that ſhe has to his Mercy, and receives it afterwards at his Pleaſure?

It is miſerable Folly, to put yourſelf in a Circumſtance of being uneaſy in your own Houſe, which ought to be a Retreat from all the Ruffles and Diſappointments that you meet with elſewhere: In Conſequence of this, you muſt ſeek your Pleaſures Abroad at great Expence, and the Hazard of your Health, and to the Neglect of your Affairs. Your Wife too, when ſhe finds herſelf neglected by one in whom ſhe had fixed her whole Happineſs, will not bear the Place and Manſion of her Miſery, but will fall into a Deſpondency, and an Indifference to your Intereſt, and will be apt to look out in her Turn for Pleaſures Abroad, when ſhe can have none at Home. Women for the moſt part place their Felicity in their Husbands, and in their Families, and generally purſue thoſe Views, till the Unkindneſs, Neglect, and Folly of their Husbands, render them impracticable.

Whatever Excuſe there may be for Men overrun with Debts, or otherwiſe very neceſſitous, to aim only at Money in Marriage, and thereby to throw themſelves into a miſerable and nauſeous Impriſonment for Life, to prevent falling into one but little worſe; I cannot find one tolerable Reaſon in Nature, why any Man in eaſy Circumſtances, and who does not want the common Neceſſaries of Life, ſhould purchaſe the Superfluities at ſo dear a Price. But it is ſtupendous that Men of Figure and Fortune, who have in their Power the Means of enjoying not only the Conveniencies, but the Luxury and Vices of Life (if ſuch can be called Enjoyments) ſhould yet barter away all

all their Happineſs for a little ſeeming additional Wealth, which for the moſt part produces real Poverty.

It is certain, that ten Men of Birth and Eſtates have been undone by marrying great Fortunes, for one who has been enriched by it. Moſt Men pay Twenty *per Cent.* for ſuch Portions, as long as they have any thing to pay. Ten Thouſand Pounds additional Fortune, when laid out in Land, will not produce Three Hundred Pounds a Year clear, which Sum will ſcarce maintain the Tea-Table, and keep the ſupernumerary Bawbles in Repair; and it will coſt as much more to ſhew them. Beſides, when the uſual Preſents are made, and an expenſive Marriage is ſolemnized, gaudy Clothes and Equipage are bought, and perhaps a *London* Houſe furniſhed; a conſiderable Part of this Portion will be diſburſed, and the forlorn Hero of this ſhewy, noiſy Farce, will diſcover, too late, how much more eligible it had been to have married a Lady well born, of a diſcreet, modeſt, and frugal Education, and an agreeable Perſon, with leſs Money, than a haughty Dame with all her Quality Airs about her, or Mr. *Thimbleman*'s Daughter, though bedecked with as many Trinkets as *Tallboy* or *Jerry Blackacre* upon the Stage.

But before we can complete this Account, we muſt ballance what muſt be given in Lieu of this Lady's Wealth, beſides the entire Loſs of conjugal and domeſtick Happineſs. It is truly ſaid, that Gold may be bought too dear; and I may ſafely ſay, that the deareſt Purchaſe now in *England*, is a Wife with a great Fortune, not excepting that of *South-Sea* Stock laſt Year.

For

For every Thouſand Pounds the Lady brings, ſhe muſt have a Hundred Pounds a Year, at leaſt during her own Life, and often a Rent-Charge, which alone is worth the Purchaſe Money which ſhe brings, if ſhe outlives her Husband; and then ſhe brings nothing towards the Iſſue, which, modeſtly ſpeaking, are as much her's as her Husband's; and it is certain, that during her living with him, ſhe ſpends more than the Intereſt of it: For, (beſides her private Expence) the Gay Furniture, the Rich Beds, the *China* Ware, the Tea-Table, the Viſiting Rooms, Rich Coaches, *&c.* muſt be chiefly placed to her Account; and ſhe ſhares equally in the Table Expence, and in that of the Children and Gardens: And yet over and above all this, a Man muſt ſettle the Remainder of his Eſtate and Subſtance out of his own Power, and intail it upon whatever Heir Chance and his Wife bring him; perhaps, upon an ungrateful and diſobedient One, made ſo by his Independency upon his Father; often upon a fooliſh and unimprovable One; ſometimes, perhaps, upon a ſpurious One.

I do not complain of this uſual Method of Settlement, as thinking it reaſonable that any Man ſhould give a large Sum of Money in Dowry with his Daughter, without taking proper Precautions to provide for her and his own Poſterity. But I cenſure the preſent great Abuſe of giving and demanding ſuch Fortunes, which have inverted the very Ends of Marriage, and made Wives independent on their Husbands, and Sons on their Fathers; Fortunes, which make Men bargain for their Wives, as they would for Cattle; and, inſtead of creating conjugal Friendſhip and Affection, and all ſorts of domeſtick Happineſs,

neſs, have produced nothing but Strife, Averſion, and Contention, where there ought to be perfect Sympathy and Unanimity; and have brought into the World a Race of Monkeys and Baboons, inſtead of Creatures with human Shape and Souls.

Why ſhould Men of Fortune and Underſtanding bring themſelves, without any Motive from Reaſon or Intereſt, into theſe unhappy Circumſtances? Why ſhould any Man, without any Conſideration, at leaſt any valuable Conſideration, diveſt himſelf of the greateſt Part of the Property of his own Eſtate? Why make himſelf only Tenant for Life, when he is in Poſſeſſion of an Inheritance; and render himſelf by that Means unable to provide againſt the many Emergencies of Life? Why ſubject himſelf to the Inſolence of an ungrateful Heir, or be forced to leave it to an unworthy One? Why be obliged to bear the Caprices and Diſhonour of a wanton and peeviſh Wife, perhaps made ſo by his Neglect ariſing from his Averſion, the ordinary Effect of Marriage againſt Inclination? when he might have choſen one every Way ſuited to the ſame; and, by contenting himſelf with leſs Fortune, have kept the greateſt part of his Eſtate in his own Power, and with it the further Means of obliging her, and of making her future Fortune and Expectations to depend upon her own Conduct, Complaiſance, and affectionate Behaviour?

T

You have given me, Madam, a very pregnant and affecting Inſtance of a Gentleman, who, made falſe by Avarice, has loſt, and wickedly loſt, a virtuous, prudent, and fond Wife, while he ſought Money more than Merit, and cruelly broke his Faith,

Faith, and with it a tender Heart, for the infamous Sake of Lucre; which may deſervedly prove a Canker in his Soul and his Subſtance, and bring him a Lady with Qualities proper to revenge the the other's juſt Quarrel and barbarous Wrongs. And I, on my part, can give you an Inſtance of a Gentleman of great Fortune and Figure, who, by acting according to the former wiſer Rules, has made himſelf happy in an amiable, diſcreet and obſervant Lady, and enjoys with her all the Bleſſings of mutual Confidence and tender Affection. He is complaiſant without Art, and ſhe without Fear. I am,

G *With perfect Reſpect,*

MADAM,

Your moſt humble

And moſt obedient Servant,

CATO.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have, in ſeveral of my late Letters, obſerved ſome Slips that have eſcaped from the Pen of the great and learned Dr. *Prideaux*; but as I have done this with no Deſign of blemiſhing a Character which cannot be blemiſhed, I think myſelf obliged to own once more, his great Merit, the Service done by him to Mankind, the Honour to his Country, and the Pleaſure and Information which I in particular have received from his worthy Labours.

It

It is poſſible, that out of Deteſtation to Principles which ſubvert and tear up by the Roots all Liberty and civil Happineſs, I may have uſed ſome warm Expreſſions againſt thoſe that maintain them. Such Expreſſions therefore can be applied only to thoſe who have been ever the avowed and active Enemies of every thing lovely, valuable, or praiſe-worthy amongſt Men. But as to Dr. *Prideaux*, however he is fallen into Prejudices, perhaps early imbibed, and not ſince examined by him with his uſual Accuracy; or however he might intend to ſerve a pious Cauſe with adventitious Helps and precarious Supports, which it wanted not: Certain it is, from the whole Courſe of his excellent Performance, that he had ſincerely at Heart the Intereſt of true Religion and Liberty. A Spirit of Virtue, Piety, good Senſe and Integrity, and an Averſion to Oppreſſion, Cruelty and Tyranny, ſhine through his whole Hiſtory, and animate the ſame; and neither he nor his Hiſtory can be too much commended.

But the Doctor is an eminent Inſtance, how little any Man ought to be guided by the mere Authority of another; ſince one of the greateſt and worthieſt Men living, is capable of falling into ſuch obvious Errors. From the Greatneſs of his Name and Credit alone I was led to theſe Animadverſions, and with Reluctance I made them. Faulcons do not prey upon Flies. Other Writers, whoſe Characters add no Weight to their Miſtakes, are ſafe from any Cenſure of mine. For this Reaſon I ſhall not trouble myſelf with the Party-Falſhoods and pious Ribaldry, and Blunders of a modern voluminous Writer of *Engliſh* Hiſtory. His Contract and Dialogue between

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell and the Devil, is a harmleſs Piece of Hiſtory, and as entertaining as the reſt.

T

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *December* 30, 1721. No. 59.

Liberty proved to be the unalienable Right of all Mankind.

SIR,

I Intend to entertain my Readers with Diſſertations upon *Liberty*, in ſome of my ſucceeding Letters; and ſhall, as a Preface to that Deſign, endeavour to prove in this, that Liberty is the unalienable Right of all Mankind.

All Governments, under whatſoever Form they are adminiſtered, ought to be adminiſtered for the Good of the Society; when they are otherwiſe adminiſtered, they ceaſe to be Government, and become Uſurpation. This being the End of all Government, even the moſt Deſpotick have this Limitation to their Authority: In this Reſpect, the only Difference between the moſt abſolute Princes and limited Magiſtrates is, that in free Governments there are Checks and Reſtraints appointed and expreſſed in the Conſtitution itſelf: In deſpotick Governments, the People ſubmit themſelves to the Prudence and Diſcretion of the Prince alone: But there is ſtill this tacit Condition annexed to his Power, that he muſt act by the unwritten Laws of Diſcretion and Prudence, and employ it for the ſole Intereſt of the People, who give

give it to him, or ſuffer him to enjoy it, which they ever do for their own Sakes.

Even in the moſt free Governments, ſingle Men are often truſted with diſcretionary Power: But they muſt anſwer for that Diſcretion to thoſe that truſt them. Generals of Armies and Admirals of Fleets have often unlimited Commiſſions, and yet are they not anſwerable for the prudent Execution of thoſe Commiſſions? The Council of Ten, in *Venice*, have abſolute Power over the Liberty and Life of every Man in the State: But if they ſhould make uſe of that Power to ſlaughter, aboliſh, or enſlave the Senate; and like the *Decemviri* of *Rome*, to ſet up themſelves; would it not be lawful for thoſe, who gave them that Authority for other Ends, to put thoſe Ten unlimited Traitors to Death, any Way that they could? The Crown of *England* has been for the moſt part entruſted with the ſole Diſpoſal of the Money given for the Civil Liſt, often with the Application of great Sums raiſed for other publick Uſes; yet, if the Lord-Treaſurer had applied this Money to the Diſhonour of the King, and Ruin of the People, (though by the private Direction of the Crown itſelf) will any Man ſay that he ought not to have compenſated for his Crime, by the Loſs of his Head and his Eſtate?

I have ſaid thus much, to ſhew that no Government can be abſolute in the Senſe, or rather Nonſenſe, of our modern Dogmatizers, and indeed in the Senſe too commonly practiſed. No barbarous Conqueſt; no extorted Conſent of miſerable People, ſubmitting to the Chain to eſcape the Sword; no repeated and hereditary Acts of Cruelty, though called Succeſſion; no Continuation

tion of Violence, though named Preſcription; can alter, much leſs abrogate theſe fundamental Principles of Government itſelf, or make the Means of Preſervation the Means of Deſtruction, and render the Condition of Mankind infinitely more miſerable than that of the Beaſts of the Field, by the ſole Privilege of that Reaſon which diſtinguiſhes them from the Brute Creation.

Force can give no Title but to Revenge, and to the Uſe of Force again; nor could it ever enter into the Heart of any Man, to give to another Power over him, for any other End but to be exerciſed for his own Advantage: And if there are any Men mad or fooliſh enough to pretend to do otherwiſe, they ought to be treated as Idiots and Lunaticks; and the Reaſon of their Conduct muſt be derived from their Folly and Phrenzy.

All Men are born free; Liberty is a Gift which they receive from God himſelf; nor can they alienate the ſame by Conſent, though poſſibly they may forfeit it by Crimes. No Man has Power over his own Life, or to diſpoſe of his own Religion, and cannot conſequently transfer the Power of either to any body elſe: Much leſs can he give away the Lives and Liberties, Religion or acquired Property of his Poſterity, who will be born as free as he himſelf was born, and can never be bound by his wicked and ridiculous Bargain.

The Right of the Magiſtrate ariſes only from the Right of private Men to defend themſelves, to repel Injuries, and to puniſh thoſe who commit them: That Right being conveyed by the Society to their publick Repreſentative, he can execute the ſame no further than the Benefit and Security of that Society requires he ſhould. When he exceeds his

his Commiſſion, his Acts are as extrajudicial as are thoſe of any private Officer uſurping an unlawful Authority, that is, they are void; and every Man is anſwerable for the Wrong which he does. A Power to do Good, can never become a Warrant for doing Evil.

But here ariſes a grand Queſtion, which has perplexed and puzzled the greateſt part of Mankind: Yet, I think, the Anſwer to it eaſy and obvious. The Queſtion is, Who ſhall be Judge whether the Magiſtrate acts juſtly, and purſues his Truſt? To this it is juſtly ſaid, that if thoſe who complain of him are to judge him, then there is a ſettled Authority above the chief Magiſtrate, which Authority muſt be itſelf the chief Magiſtrate; which is contrary to the Suppoſition; and the ſame Queſtion and Difficulty will recur again upon this new Magiſtracy. All this I own to be abſurd; and I aver it to be at leaſt as abſurd to affirm, that the Perſon accuſed is to be the deciſive Judge of his own Actions, when it is certain that he will always judge and determine in his own Favour; and thus the whole Race of Mankind will be left helpleſs under the heavieſt Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Miſery that can afflict human Nature.

But if neither Magiſtrates, nor they who complain of Magiſtrates, and are aggrieved by them, have a Right to determine deciſively, the one for the other; and if there be no common eſtabliſhed Power, to which both are ſubject: Then every Man intereſted in the Succeſs of the Conteſt, muſt act according to the Light and Dictates of his own Conſcience, and inform it as well as he can. Where no Judge is nor can be appointed, every

Man muſt be his own; that is, when there is no ſtated Judge upon Earth, we muſt have Recourſe to Heaven, and obey the Will of Heaven, by declaring ourſelves on that which we think the juſter Side.

If the Senate and People of *Rome* had differed irreconcileably, there could have been no common Judge in the World between them; and conſequently no Remedy but the laſt; for that Government conſiſting in the Union of the Nobles and the People, when they differed, no Man could determine between them; and therefore every Man muſt have been at Liberty to provide for his own Security, and the general Good, in the beſt Manner he was able. In that Caſe the common Judge ceaſing, every one was his own: The Government becoming incapable of acting, ſuffered a political Demiſe: The Conſtitution was diſſolved, and there being no Government in Being, the People were in the State of Nature again.

The ſame muſt be true, where two Abſolute Princes, governing a Country, come to quarrel, as ſometimes two *Cæſars* in Partnerſhip did, eſpecially towards the latter End of the *Roman* Empire; or where a Sovereign Council govern a Country, and their Votes come equally to be divided. In ſuch a Circumſtance, every Man muſt take that Side which he thinks moſt for the Publick Good, or chuſe any proper Meaſures for his own Security. For, if I owe my Allegiance to two Princes agreeing, or to the Majority of a Council; when between theſe Princes there is no longer any Union, nor in that Council any Majority, no Submiſſion can be due to that which

is

is not; and the Laws of Nature and Self-preſervation muſt take place, where there are no other.

The Caſe is ſtill the ſame, when there is any Diſpute about the Titles of Abſolute Princes, who govern independently on the States of a Country, and call none. Here too every Man muſt judge for himſelf what Party he will take, to which of the Titles he will adhere; and the like private Judgment muſt guide him, whenever a Queſtion ariſes whether the ſaid Prince be an Idiot or a Lunatick, and conſequently whether he be capable or incapable of Government. Where there are no States, there can be no other Way of judging; but by the Judgment of private Men, the Capacity of the Prince muſt be judged, and his Fate determined. Lunacy and Idiotiſm are, I think, allowed by all to be certain Diſqualifications for Government; indeed they are as much ſo, as if he were deaf, blind, and dumb, or even dead. He who can neither execute an Office, nor appoint a Deputy, is not fit for one.

Now I would fain know, why private Men may not as well uſe their Judgment in an Inſtance that concerns them more; I mean that of a Tyrannical Government, of which they hourly feel the ſad Effects, and ſorrowful Proofs; whereas they have not by far the equal Means of coming to a Certainty about the natural Incapacity of their Governor. The Perſons of great Princes are known but to few of their Subjects, and their Parts to much fewer; and ſeveral Princes have, by the Management of their Wives, or Miniſters, or Murderers, reigned a good while after they were dead. In Truth, I think it is as much the Buſineſs and Right of the People to judge whether

their Prince be good or bad, whether a Father or an Enemy, as to judge whether he be dead or alive; unleſs it be ſaid (as many ſuch wiſe Things have been ſaid) that they may judge whether he can govern them, but not whether he does; and that it behoves them to put the Adminiſtration in wiſer Hands, if he be a harmleſs Fool, but it is impious to do it, if he be only a deſtructive Tyrant; that Want of Speech is a Diſqualification, but Want of Humanity none.

That Subjects were not to judge of their Governors, or rather for themſelves in the Buſineſs of Government, which of all human Things concerns them moſt, was an Abſurdity that never entered into the Imagination of the wiſe and honeſt Antients: Who, following for their Guide that everlaſting Reaſon, which is the beſt and only Guide in human Affairs, carried Liberty, and human Happineſs, the legitimate Offspring and Work of Liberty, to the higheſt Pitch that they were capable of arriving at. But the above Abſurdity, with many others as monſtrous and miſchievous, were reſerved for the Diſcovery of a few wretched and dreaming *Mahometan* and Chriſtian Monks, who, ignorant of all Things, were made, or made themſelves, the Directors of all Things; and bewitching the World with holy Lies and unaccountable Ravings dreſſed up in barbarous Words and uncouth Phraſes, bent all their Fairy Force againſt common Senſe and common Liberty and Truth, and founded a pernicious, abſurd, and viſionary Empire upon their Ruins. Syſtems without Senſe, Propoſitions without Truth, Religion without Reaſon, a rampant Church without Charity, Severity without Juſtice, and Government

vernment without Liberty or Mercy, were all the bleſſed Handy-Works of theſe religious Madmen, and godly Pedants; who, by pretending to know the other World, cheated and confounded this. Their Enmity to common Senſe, and Want of it, were their Warrants for governing the Senſe of all Mankind: By Lying they were thought the Champions of the Truth; and by their Fooleries, Impieties, and Cruelty, were eſteemed the Favourites and Confidents of the God of Wiſdom, Mercy, and Peace.

Theſe were the Men, who, having demoliſhed all Senſe and human Judgment, firſt made it a Principle, that People were not to judge of their Governor and Government, nor to meddle with it; nor to preſerve themſelves from publick Deſtroyers, falſely calling themſelves Governors: Yet theſe Men, who thus ſet up for the Support and Defenders of Government, without the common Honeſty of diſtinguiſhing the Good from the Bad, and Protection from Murder and Depredation, were at the ſame Time themſelves the conſtant and avowed Troublers of every Government which they could not direct and command; and every Government, however excellent, which did not make their Reveries its own Rules, and themſelves alone its peculiar Care, has been honoured with their profeſſed Hatred; whilſt Tyrants and publick Butchers, who flattered them, have been deified. This was the poor State of *Chriſtendom*, before the *Reformation*; and I wiſh I could ſay, of no Parts of it ſince.

This barbarous Anarchy in Reaſoning and Politicks, has made it neceſſary to prove Propoſitions which the Light of Nature had demonſtrated.

And, as the Apoſtles were forced to prove to the miſled *Gentiles*, that they were no Gods which were made with Hands; I am put to prove, that the People have a Right to judge, whether their Governors were made for them, or they for their Governors? Whether their Governors have neceſſary and natural Qualifications? Whether they have any Governors or no? And whether, when they have none, every Man muſt not be his own? I therefore return to Inſtances and Illuſtrations from Facts which cannot be denied, though Propoſitions as true as Facts may, by thoſe eſpecially who are defective in Point of Modeſty or Diſcernment.

In *Poland*, according to the Conſtitution of that Country, it is neceſſary, we are told, that, in their Diets, the Conſent of every Man preſent muſt be had to make a Reſolve effectual: And therefore, to prevent the cutting of People's Throats, they have no Remedy but to cut the Throats of one another; that is, they muſt pull out their Sabres, and force the refractory Members (who are always the Minority) to ſubmit. And amongſt us in *England*, where a Jury cannot agree, there can be no Verdict; and ſo they muſt faſt till they do, or till one of them is dead, and then the Jury is diſſolved.

This, from the Nature of Things themſelves, muſt be the conſtant Caſe in all Diſputes between Dominion and Property. Where the Intereſt of the Governors and that of the Governed claſh, there can be no ſtated Judge between them: To appeal to a Foreign Power, is to give up the Sovereignty; for either Side to ſubmit, is to give up the Queſtion: And therefore, if they themſelves do

do not amicably determine the Diſpute between themſelves, Heaven alone muſt. In ſuch Caſe, Recourſe muſt be had to the firſt Principles of Government itſelf; which being a Departure from the State of Nature, and a Union of many Families forming themſelves into a political Machine for mutual Protection and Defence, it is evident, that this formed Relation can continue no longer than the Machine ſubſiſts and can act; and when it does not, the Individuals muſt return to their former State again. No Conſtitution can provide againſt what will happen, when that Conſtitution is diſſolved. Government is only an Appointment of one or more Perſons, to do certain Actions for the Good and Emolument of the Society; and if the Perſons thus intruſted, will not act at all, or act contrary to their Truſt, their Power muſt return of Courſe to thoſe who gave it.

Suppoſe, for Example, the Grand Monarch, as he was called, had bought a neighbouring Kingdom, and all the Lands in it, from the Courtiers, and the Majority of the People's Deputies; and amongſt the reſt, the Church-Lands, into the Bargain, with the Conſent of their Convocation or Synod, or by what other Name that Aſſembly was called; Would the People and Clergy have thought themſelves obliged to have made good this Bargain, if they could have helped it? I dare ſay that neither would; but, on the contrary, that the People would have had the Countenance of theſe reverend Patriots to have told their Repreſentatives in round Terms, that they were choſen to act for the Intereſt of thoſe that ſent them, and not for their own; that their

Power was given them to protect and defend their Country, and not to ſell and enſlave it.

This Suppoſition, as wild as it ſeems, yet is not abſolutely and univerſally impoſſible. King *John* actually ſold the Kingdom of *England* to his Holineſs: And there are People in all Nations ready to ſell their Country at Home; and ſuch can never have any Principles to withhold them from ſelling it Abroad.

It is fooliſh to ſay, that this Doctrine can be miſchievous to Society, at leaſt in any Proportion to the wild Ruin and fatal Calamities which muſt befal, and do befal the World, where the contrary Doctrine is maintained: For, all Bodies of Men ſubſiſting upon their own Subſtance, or upon the Profits of their Trade and Induſtry, find their Account ſo much in Eaſe and Peace, and have juſtly ſuch terrible Apprehenſions of Civil Diſorders, which deſtroy every thing that they enjoy; that they always bear a thouſand Injuries before they return one, and ſtand under the Burthens as long as they can bear them, as I have in another Letter obſerved.

What with the Force of Education, and the Reverence which People are taught, and have been always uſed to pay to Princes; what with the perpetual Harangues of Flatterers, the gaudy Pageantry and Outſide of Power, and its gilded Enſigns, always glittering in their Eyes; what with the Execution of the Laws in the ſole Power of the Prince; what with all the regular Magiſtrates, pompous Guards and ſtanding Troops, with the fortified Towns, the Artillery, and all the Magazines of War, at his Diſpoſal; beſides large Revenues, and Multitudes of Followers and De-

Dependents, to ſupport and abet all that he does: Obedience to Authority is ſo well ſecured, that it is wild to imagine that any Number of Men, formidable enough to diſturb a ſettled State, can unite together and hope to overturn it, till the publick Grievances are ſo enormous, the Oppreſſion ſo great, and the Diſſaffection ſo univerſal, that there can be no Queſtion remaining, whether their Calamities be real or imaginary, and whether the Magiſtrate has protected or endeavoured to deſtroy his People.

This was the Caſe of *Richard* the Second, *Edward* the Second, and *James* the Second, and will ever be the Caſe under the ſame Circumſtances. No Society of Men will groan under Oppreſſions longer than they know how to throw them off; whatever unnatural Whimſies and Fairy Notions idle and ſedentary Babblers may utter from Colleges and Cloiſters; and teach to others, for vile Self-ends, Doctrines, which they themſelves are famous for not practiſing.

Upon this Principle of People's judging for themſelves, and reſiſting lawleſs Force, ſtands our late happy *Revolution*, and with it the juſt and rightful Title of our moſt excellent Sovereign King *George*, to the Scepter of theſe Realms; a Scepter which he has, and I doubt not will ever ſway, to his own Honour, and the Honour, Protection, and Proſperity of us his People.

T

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *January* 6, 1721. No. 60.

All Government proved to be inſtituted by Men, and only to intend the general Good of Men.

SIR,

THERE is no Government now upon Earth, which owes its Formation or Beginning to the immediate Revelation of God, or can derive its Exiſtence from ſuch Revelation: It is certain, on the contrary, that the Riſe and Inſtitution or Variation of Government, from Time to Time, is within the Memory of Men or of Hiſtories; and that every Government, which we know at this Day in the World, was eſtabliſhed by the Wiſdom and Force of mere Men, and by the Concurrence of Means and Cauſes evidently human. Government therefore can have no Power, but ſuch as Men can give, and ſuch as they actually did give, or permit for their own Sakes: Nor can any Government be in Fact framed but by Conſent, if not of every Subject, yet of as many as can compel the reſt; ſince no Man, or Council of Men, can have perſonal Strength enough to govern Multitudes by Force, or can claim to themſelves and their Families any Superiority, or natural Sovereignty over their Fellow-Creatures naturally as good as them. Such Strength, therefore, wherever it is, is civil and accumulative Strength, derived from the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Society, of which the Governors themſelves are but Members.

So

So that to know the Juriſdiction of Governors, and its Limits; we muſt have recourſe to the Inſtitution of Government, and aſcertain thoſe Limits by the Meaſure of Power, which Men in the State of Nature have over themſelves and one another: And as no Man can take from many, who are ſtronger than him, what they have no Mind to give him; and he who has not Conſent muſt have Force, which is itſelf the Conſent of the Stronger; ſo no Man can give to another either what is none of his own, or what in its own Nature is inſeparable from himſelf; as his Religion particularly is.

Every Man's Religion is his own; nor can the Religion of any Man, of what Nature or Figure ſoever, be the Religion of another Man, unleſs he alſo chuſes it; which Action utterly excludes all Force, Power, or Government. Religion can never come without Conviction, nor can Conviction come from Civil Authority; Religion, which is the Fear of God, cannot be ſubject to Power, which is the Fear of Man. It is a Relation between God and our own Souls only, and conſiſts in a Diſpoſition of Mind to obey the Will of our great Creator, in the Manner which we think moſt acceptable to him. It is independent upon all human Directions, and ſuperior to them; and conſequently uncontroulable by external Force, which cannot reach the free Faculties of the Mind, or inform the Underſtanding, much leſs convince it. Religion therefore, which can never be ſubject to the Juriſdiction of another, can never be alienated to another, or put in his Power.

Nor

Nor has any Man in the State of Nature, Power over his own Life, or to take away the Life of another, unleſs to defend his own, or what is as much his own, namely his Property. This Power therefore, which no Man has, no Man can transfer to another.

Nor could any Man, in the State of Nature, have a Right to violate the Property of another; that is, what another had acquired by his Art or Labour; or to interrupt him in his Induſtry and Enjoyments, as long as he himſelf was not injured by that Induſtry and thoſe Enjoyments. No Man therefore could transfer to the Magiſtrate that Right which he had not himſelf.

No Man in his Senſes was ever ſo wild as to give an unlimited Power to another to take away his Life, or the Means of Living, according to the Caprice, Paſſion, and unreaſonable Pleaſure of that other: But if any Man reſtrained himſelf from any Part of his Pleaſures, or parted with any Portion of his Acquiſitions, he did it with the honeſt Purpoſe of enjoying the reſt with the greater Security, and always in Subſerviency to his own Happineſs, which no Man will or can willingly and intentionally give away to any other whatſoever.

And if any one, through his own Inadvertence, or by the Fraud or Violence of another, can be drawn into ſo fooliſh a Contract, he is relievable by the eternal Laws of God and Reaſon. No Engagement that is wicked and unjuſt, can be executed without Injuſtice and Wickedneſs: This is ſo true, that I queſtion whether there be a Conſtitution in the World which does not afford, or pretend to afford, a Remedy for relieving igno-

ignorant, diſtreſſed and unwary Men, trepanned into ſuch Engagements by artful Knaves, or frightned into them by imperious ones. So that here the Laws of Nature and general Reaſon ſuperſede the municipal and poſitive Laws of Nations; and no where oftner than in *England*. What elſe was the Deſign, and ought to be the Buſineſs of our Courts of Equity? And I hope whole Countries and Societies are no more exempted from the Privileges and Protection of Reaſon and Equity, than are private Particulars.

Here then is the natural Limitation of the Magiſtrate's Authority: He ought not to take what no Man ought to give, nor exact what no Man ought to perform: All he has is given him, and thoſe that gave it muſt judge of the Application. In Government there is no ſuch Relation as Lord and Slave, lawleſs Will and blind Submiſſion; nor ought to be amongſt Men: But the only Relation is that of Father and Children, Patron and Client, Protection and Allegiance, Benefaction and Gratitude, mutual Affection and mutual Aſſiſtance.

So that the Nature of Government does not alter the natural Right of Men to Liberty, which in all political Societies is alike their Due: But ſome Governments provide better than others, for the Security and impartial Diſtribution of that Right. There has been always ſuch a conſtant and certain Fund of Corruption and Malignity in human Nature, that it has been rare to find that Man, whoſe Views and Happineſs did not center in the Gratification of his Appetites, and worſt Appetites, his Luxury, his Pride, his Avarice and Luſt of Power; and who conſidered any publick

publick Truſt repoſed in him, with any other View, than as the Means to ſatiate ſuch unruly and dangerous Deſires! And this has been moſt eminently true of Great Men, and thoſe who aſpired to Dominion. They were firſt made Great for the Sake of the Publick, and afterwards at its Expence. And if they had been content to have been moderate Traytors, Mankind would have been ſtill moderately happy; but their Ambition and Treaſon obſerving no Degrees, there was no Degree of Vileneſs and Miſery, which the poor People did not often feel.

The Appetites therefore of Men, eſpecially of Great Men, are carefully to be obſerved and ſtayed, or elſe they will never ſtay themſelves. The Experience of every Age convinces us, that we muſt not judge of Men by what they ought to do, but by what they will do; and all Hiſtory affords but few Inſtances of Men truſted with great Power without abuſing it, when with Security they could. The Servants of Society, that is to ſay, its Magiſtrates, did almoſt univerſally ſerve it by ſeizing it, ſelling it, or plundering it; eſpecially when they were left by the Society unlimited as to their Duty and Wages. In that Caſe, theſe faithful Stewards generally took all; and being Servants, made Slaves of their Maſters.

For theſe Reaſons, and convinced by woful and eternal Experience, Societies found it neceſſary to lay Reſtraints upon their Magiſtrates or publick Servants, and to put Checks upon thoſe who would otherwiſe put Chains upon them; and therefore theſe Societies ſet themſelves to model and form national Conſtitutions with ſuch Wiſdom and Art, that the publick Intereſt ſhould be con-

conſulted and carried on at the ſame Time, when thoſe entruſted with the Adminiſtration of it were conſulting and purſuing their own.

Hence grew the Diſtinction between Arbitrary and Free Governments: Not that more or leſs Power was veſted in the one than in the other; nor that either of them lay under leſs or more Obligations, in Juſtice, to protect their Subjects, and ſtudy their Eaſe, Proſperity and Security, and to watch for the ſame. But the Power and Sovereignty of Magiſtrates in free Countries was ſo qualified, and ſo divided into different Channels, and committed to the Direction of ſo many different Men, with different Intereſts and Views, that the Majority of them could ſeldom or never find their Account in betraying their Truſt in fundamental Inſtances. Their Emulation, Envy, Fear, or Intereſt, always made them Spies and Checks upon one another. By all which Means, the People have often come at the Heads of thoſe who forfeited their Heads, by betraying the People.

In deſpotick Governments, Things went far otherwiſe, thoſe Governments having been framed otherwiſe; if the ſame could be called Governments, where the Rules of publick Power were dictated by private and lawleſs Luſt; where Folly and Madneſs often ſwayed the Scepter, and blind Rage weilded the Sword. The whole Wealth of the State, with its Civil or Military Power, being in the Prince, the People could have no Remedy but Death and Patience, while he oppreſſed them by the Lump, and butchered them by Thouſands: Unleſs perhaps the Ambition or perſonal Reſentments of ſome of the Inſtruments of his

Tyranny

Tyranny procured a Revolt, which rarely mended their Condition.

The only Secret therefore in forming a Free Government, is to make the Intereſts of the Governors and of the Governed the ſame, as far as human Policy can contrive. Liberty cannot be preſerved any other Way. Men have long found, from the Weakneſs and Depravity of themſelves and one another, that moſt Men will act for Intereſt againſt Duty, as often as they dare. So that to engage them to their Duty, Intereſt muſt be linked to the Obſervance of it, and Danger to the Breach of it. Perſonal Advantages and Security, muſt be the Rewards of Duty and Obedience; and Diſgrace, Torture, and Death, the Puniſhment of Treachery and Corruption.

Human Wiſdom has yet found out but one certain Expedient to effect this; and that is, to have the Concerns of all directed by all, as far as poſſibly can be: And where the Perſons intereſted are too numerous, or live too diſtant to meet together on all Emergencies, they muſt moderate Neceſſity by Prudence, and act by Deputies whoſe Intereſt is the ſame with their own, and whoſe Property is ſo intermingled with theirs, and ſo engaged upon the ſame Bottom, that Principals and Deputies muſt ſtand and fall together. When the Deputies thus act for their own Intereſt, by acting for the Intereſt of their Principals; when they can make no Law but what they themſelves, and their Poſterity, muſt be ſubject to; when they can give no Money, but what they muſt pay their Share of; when they can do no Miſchief, but what muſt fall upon their own Heads in common with their Countrymen; their Principals may then

then expect good Laws, little Miſchief, and much Frugality.

Here therefore lies the great Point of Nicety and Care, in forming the Conſtitution, that the Perſons entruſted and repreſenting, ſhall either never have an Intereſt detached from the Perſons entruſting and repreſented, or never the Means to purſue it. Now to compaſs this great Point effectually, no other Way is left, but one of theſe two, or rather both; namely, to make the Deputies ſo numerous, that there may be no Poſſibility of corrupting the Majority; or, by changing them ſo often, that there is no ſufficient Time to corrupt them, and to carry the Ends of that Corruption. The People may be very ſure, that the major Part of their Deputies being honeſt, will keep the reſt ſo; and that they will all be honeſt, when they have no Temptations to be Knaves.

We have ſome Sketch of this Policy in the Conſtitution of our ſeveral great Companies, where the General Court, compoſed of all its Members, conſtitutes the Legiſlature, and the Conſent of that Court is the Sanction of their Laws; and where the Adminiſtration of their Affairs is put under the Conduct of a certain Number choſen by the Whole. Here every Man concerned, ſaw the Neceſſity of ſecuring Part of their Property, by putting the Perſons intruſted under proper Regulations; however remiſs they may be in taking Care of the Whole. And if Proviſion had been made, that, as a Third Part of the Directors are to go out every Year, ſo none ſhould ſtay in above Three, (as I am told, was at firſt promiſed) all Juggling with Courtiers, and raiſing

raiſing great Eſtates by Confederacy, at the Expence of the Company, had, in a great Meaſure, been prevented; though there were ſtill wanting other Limitations, which might have effectually obviated all thoſe Evils.

This was the ancient Conſtitution of *England*: Our Kings had neither Revenues large enough, nor Offices gainful and numerous enough in their Diſpoſal, to corrupt any conſiderable Number of Members; nor any Force to frighten them: Beſides, the ſame Parliament ſeldom or never met twice: For, the ſerving in it being found an Office of Burden, and not of Profit, it was thought reaſonable that all Men qualified ſhould, in their Turns, leave their Families and domeſtick Concerns, to ſerve the Publick; and their Boroughs bore their Charges. The only Grievance then was, that they were not called together often enough, to redreſs the Grievances which the People ſuffered from the Court during their Intermiſſion: And therefore, a Law was made in *Edward* the Third's Time, that Parliaments ſhould be holden once a Year.

But this Law, like the late Queen's Peace, did not execute itſelf; and therefore the Court ſeldom convened them, but when they wanted Money, or had other Purpoſes of their own to ſerve; and ſometimes raiſed Money without them: Which arbitrary Proceeding brought upon the Publick numerous Miſchiefs; and, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, a long and bloody Civil War. In that Reign an Act was paſſed, that they ſhould meet of themſelves, if they were not called according to the Direction of that Law, which was worthily repealed upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles*

Charles the Second: And in the ſame kind Fit, a great Revenue was given him for Life, and continued to his Brother. By which Means, theſe Princes were enabled to keep ſtanding Troops, to corrupt Parliaments, or to live without them; and to commit ſuch Acts of Power as brought about, and indeed forced the People upon the late happy *Revolution*. Soon after which, a new Act was paſſed, that Parliaments ſhould be rechoſen once in three Years: Which Law was alſo repealed, upon his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, that the preſent Parliament might have Time to rectify thoſe Abuſes which we laboured under, and to make Regulations proper to prevent them *All* for the future. *All* which has ſince been happily effected; and, I bleſs God, we are told, that the People will have the Opportunity to thank them, in another Election, for their great Services to their Country. I ſhall be always ready, on my Part, to do them Honour, and pay them my Acknowledgments, in the moſt effectual Manner in my Power. — But more of this in the ſucceeding Papers.

T *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *January* 13, 1721. No. 61.

How free Governments are to be framed ſo as to laſt, and how they differ from ſuch as are arbitrary.

SIR,

THE moſt reaſonable Meaning that can be put upon this Apothegm, that *Virtue is its own Reward*, is, that it ſeldom meets with any other. God himſelf, who having made us, beſt knows our Natures, does not truſt to the intrinſick Excellence and native Beauty of Holineſs alone, to engage us in its Intereſts and Purſuits, but recommends it to us by the ſtronger and more affecting Motives of Rewards and Puniſhments. No wiſe Man, therefore, will in any Inſtance of Moment truſt to the mere Integrity of another. The Experience of all Ages may convince us, that Men, when they are above Fear, grow for the moſt part above Honeſty and Shame: And this is particularly and certainly true of Societies of Men, when they are numerous enough to keep one another in Countenance; for when the Weight of Infamy is divided amongſt many, no one ſinks under his own Burden.

Great Bodies of Men have ſeldom judged what they ought to do, by any other Rule than what they could do. What Nation is there that has not oppreſſed any other, when the ſame could be done with Advantage and Security? What Party has ever had Regard to the Principles which they profeſſed, or ever reformed the Errors which they

they condemned? What Company, or particular Society of Merchants or Tradeſmen, has ever acted for the Intereſt of general Trade, though it always filled their Mouths in private Converſation?

And yet Men, thus formed and qualified, are the Materials for Government. For the Sake of Men it is inſtituted, by the Prudence of Men it muſt be conducted; and the Art of political Mechaniſm is, to erect a firm Building with ſuch crazy and corrupt Materials. The ſtrongeſt Cables are made out of looſe Hemp and Flax; the World itſelf may, with the Help of proper Machines, be moved by the Force of a ſingle Hair; and ſo may the Government of the World, as well as the World itſelf. But whatever Diſcourſes I ſhall hereafter make upon this great and uſeful Subject, I ſhall confine myſelf in this Letter to free monarchical Conſtitutions alone, and to the Application of ſome of the Principles laid down in my laſt.

It is there ſaid, that when the Society conſiſts of too many, or when they live too far apart to be able to meet together, to take Care of their own Affairs, they can no otherwiſe preſerve their Liberties, than by chuſing Deputies to repreſent them, and to act for them; and that theſe Deputies muſt be either ſo numerous, that there can be no Means of corrupting the Majority; or ſo often changed, that there ſhall be no Time to do it ſo as to anſwer any End by doing it. Without one of theſe Regulations, or both, I lay it down as a certain Maxim in Politicks, that it is impoſſible to preſerve a free Government long.

I think

I think I may with great Modeſty affirm, that in former Reigns, the People of *England* found no ſufficient Security in the Number of their Repreſentatives. What with the Crowd of Offices in the Gift of the Crown, which were poſſeſſed by Men of no other Merit, nor held by any other Tenure, but merely a Capacity to get into the Houſe of Commons, and the Diſſervice which they could and would do their Country there: What with the Promiſes and Expectations given to others, who by Court-Influence, and often by Court-Money, carried their Elections: What by artful Careſſes, and the familiar and deceitful Addreſſes of great Men to weak Men: What with luxurious Dinners and Rivers of *Burgundy*, *Champaign*, and *Tokay*, thrown down the Throats of Gluttons; and what with Penſions, and other perſonal Gratifications, beſtowed where Wind and Smoke would not paſs for current Coin: What with Party Watch-Words and imaginary Terrors, ſpread amongſt the drunken 'Squires, and the deluded and enthuſiaſtick Bigots, of dreadful Deſigns in *Embrio*, to blow up the Church, and the Proteſtant Intereſt; and ſometimes with the Dread of mighty Invaſions juſt ready to break upon us from the Man in the Moon: I ſay, by all theſe corrupt Arts, the Repreſentatives of the *Engliſh* People, in former Reigns, have been brought to betray the People, and to join with their Oppreſſors. So much are Men governed by artful Applications to their private Paſſions and Intereſt. And it is evident to me, that if ever we have a weak or an ambitious Prince, with a Miniſtry like him, we muſt find out ſome other Reſources, or acquieſce in the Loſs of our Liberties. The Courſe and Tranſiency

Tranſiency of human Affairs, will not ſuffer us to live always under the preſent righteous Adminiſtration.

So that I can ſee no Means in human Policy to preſerve the publick Liberty and a monarchical Form of Government together, but by the frequent freſh Elections of the People's Deputies: This is what the Writers in Politicks call Rotation of Magiſtracy. Men, when they firſt enter into Magiſtracy, have often their former Condition before their Eyes: They remember what they themſelves ſuffered, with their Fellow-Subjects, from the Abuſe of Power, and how much they blamed it; and ſo their firſt Purpoſes are to be humble, modeſt and juſt; and probably, for ſome Time, they continue ſo. But the Poſſeſſion of Power ſoon alters and viciates their Hearts, which are at the ſame time ſure to be leavened, and puffed up to an unnatural Size, by the deceitful Incenſe of falſe Friends, and by the proſtrate Submiſſion of Paraſites. Firſt, they grow indifferent to all their good Deſigns, then drop them: Next, they loſe their Moderation; afterwards, they renounce all Meaſures with their old Acquaintance and old Principles; and ſeeing themſelves in magnifying Glaſſes, grow, in Conceit, a different Species from their Fellow-Subjects; and ſo by too ſudden Degrees become inſolent, rapacious and tyrannical, ready to catch at all Means, often the vileſt and moſt oppreſſive, to raiſe their Fortunes as high as their imaginary Greatneſs. So that the only Way to put them in mind of their former Condition, and conſequently of the Condition of other People, is often to reduce them to it; and to let others of equal Capacities

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ſhare of Power in their Turn: This alſo is the only Way to qualify Men, and make them equally fit for Dominion and Subjection.

A Rotation therefore, in Power and Magiſtracy, is eſſentially neceſſary to a free Government: It is indeed the Thing itſelf; and conſtitutes, animates, and informs it, as much as the Soul conſtitutes the Man. It is a Thing ſacred and inviolable, wherever Liberty is thought ſacred; nor can it ever be committed to the Diſpoſal of thoſe who are truſted with the Preſervation of National Conſtitutions: For though they may have the Power to model it for the publick Advantage, and for the more effectual Security of that Right; yet they can have none to give it up, or, which is the ſame Thing, to make it uſeleſs.

The Conſtitution of a limited Monarchy, is the joint Concurrence of the Crown and of the Nobles (without whom it cannot ſubſiſt) and of the Body of the People, to make Laws for the common Benefit of the Subject; and where the People, through Number or Diſtance, cannot meet, they muſt ſend Deputies to ſpeak in their Names, and to attend upon their Intereſt: Theſe Deputies therefore act by, under, and in ſubſerviency to the Conſtitution, and have not a Power above it and over it.

In *Holland*, and ſome other free Countries, the States are often obliged to conſult their Principals; and, in ſome Inſtances, our own Parliaments have declined entring upon Queſtions of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and known the Sentiments of thoſe that ſent them; as in all Caſes they ought to conſult their Inclinations as well as their Intereſt. Whō will ſay that

that the Rump, or Fag-end of the Long Parliament of Forty-One, had any Right to expel ſuch Members as they did not like? Or to watch for their Abſence, that they might ſeize to themſelves, or give up to any body elſe, the Right of thoſe from whoſe Confidence and Credulity they derived the Authority which they acted by?

With Thanks to God, I own, that we have a Prince ſo ſenſible of this Right, and who owes his Crown ſo intirely to the Principles laid down, and I think fully proved in theſe Letters, that it is impoſſible to ſuſpect, either from his Inclinations, his Intereſt, or his known Juſtice, that he ſhould ever fall into any Meaſures to deſtroy that People, who have given him his Crown, and ſupported him in it with ſo much Generoſity and Expence; or that he ſhould undermine, by that Means, the Ground upon which he ſtands. I do therefore the leſs regard the idle Suſpicions and Calumnies of diſaffected Men, who would ſurmiſe, that a Deſign is yet on Foot to continue this Parliament —— a Reflection the moſt impudent and invidious that can be thrown upon his Majeſty, his Miniſters, or his two Houſes; and a Reflection that can come from none but profeſſed, or at leaſt from concealed *Jacobites*.

It is no leſs than an Inſinuation, that our moſt excellent Sovereign King *George* has a Diſtruſt of his faithful Subjects; that he will refuſe them the Means of their own Preſervation, and the Preſervation of that Conſtitution which they choſe him to preſerve; that he will ſhut his Ears againſt their modeſt, juſt, and dutiful Complaints; and that he apprehends Danger from meeting them in a New and Free-choſen Parliament. This is con-

trary to the Tenour of his whole Life and Actions; who, as he has received Three Crowns from their Gift, ſo he lies under all the Ties of Generoſity, Gratitude, and Duty, to cheriſh and protect them, and to make them always great, free, and happy.

It is a moſt ſcandalous Calumny upon his faithful Servants, to ſuggeſt that any of them, conſcious of Guilt and Crimes, feared any thing from the moſt ſtrict and rigorous Inſpection into their Proceedings. Some of them have already ſtood the fiery Tryal, and come off triumphant with general Approbation. They have, beſides, the Advantage of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon, which they did not want, and which was not paſſed for their Sakes. Who therefore can ſuſpect that Patriots ſo uncorrupt, ſo prudent, and ſo popular, will diſhonour their Maſter, give up the Conſtitution, ruin their Country, and render themſelves the Objects of univerſal Scorn, Deteſtation and Curſes, by adviſing the moſt odious, dangerous, and deſtructive Meaſures, that ever Counſellors gave a Prince.

It is a moſt ungrateful Return to our illuſtrious Repreſentatives, to ſuggeſt, that Men who have left their domeſtick Concerns to ſerve their Country at their own Expence, and without any perſonal Advantages, and have beſtowed their Labours upon the Publick for a much longer Time than their Principals had at firſt a Right to expect from them; and have, during all that Time, been rectifying the Abuſes which have crept into our Conſtitution; and have aſſiſted his Majeſty in going through two very uſeful and neceſſary Wars, and have regulated our Finances, and the Expence

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of our Guards and Garriſons, and corrected many Abuſes in the Fleet and the Civil Adminiſtration; and have taken effectual Vengeance of all thoſe who were concerned in promoting, procuring, aiding, or aſſiſting the late dreadful *South-Sea* Project: —— I ſay, after ſo many Things done by them for the publick Honour and Proſperity, it is the baſeſt Ingratitude to ſurmiſe, that any of them would give up that Conſtitution which they were choſen, and have taken ſo much Pains, to preſerve.

I do indeed confeſs, if any Invaſion were to be feared from *Muſcovy*, *Mecklenburg*, *Spain*, or *Civita Vecchia*; if new Provinces were to be obtained Abroad, new Armies to be raiſed, or new Fleets to be equipped upon warlike Expeditions: If new Proviſion were wanting for the Civil Liſt, and new Taxes to be levied, or new Companies to be erected to pay off the publick Debts: If the Univerſities were to be farther regulated, or any Inſpection were neceſſary into the Increaſe of Fees and Exactions of Civil Officers; if there were the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect Bribery or Corruption in a Place where it ſhould not be; or if there were any new Project on Foot to baniſh tyrannical and popiſh Principles far out of the Land: I ſay, that in ſuch a Scene of Affairs, I dare not be altogether ſo poſitive in my Aſſertion, that we ought to venture, and at all Events to leave to Chance that which we are in Poſſeſſion of already. —But as we are at preſent in the happy State of Indolence and Security, at Peace with all the World and our own Conſciences; as little more Money can be raiſed from the People, moſt of it being already in Hands, which, according to the

Rules of good Policy, unite Dominion and Property; as our Benefactors too are generous and honourable, our Boroughs not inſenſible or ungrateful, nor the Counties themſelves inexorable to ſhining Merit: So it is much to be hoped, that another Parliament may be choſen equally deſerving, and as zealous for the publick Intereſt; or at worſt, there are honeſt and tried Meaſures at Hand, which will undoubtedly make them ſo. And I offer this as a concluſive, and I think a moſt convincing Argument, that the Kingdom will be obliged with a new Election.

T *I am*, &c.

SATURDAY, *January* 20, 1721. No. 62.

An Enquiry into the Nature and Extent of Liberty; with its Lovelineſs and Advantages, and the vile Effects of Slavery.

SIR,

I Have ſhewn in a late Paper, wherein conſiſts the Difference between Free and Arbitrary Governments, as to their Frame and Conſtitution; and in this and the following, I ſhall ſhew their different Spirit and Effects. But firſt I will ſhew wherein Liberty itſelf conſiſts.

By Liberty, I underſtand the Power which every Man has over his own Actions, and his Right to enjoy the Fruits of his Labour, Art, and Induſtry, as far as by it he hurts not the Society, or any Members of it, by taking from any Member, or by hindering him from enjoying what he himſelf

himſelf enjoys. The Fruits of a Man's honeſt Induſtry are the juſt Rewards of it, aſcertained to him by natural and eternal Equity, as is his Title to uſe them in the Manner which he thinks fit: And thus, with the above Limitations, every Man is ſole Lord and Arbiter of his own private Actions and Property —— A Character of which no Man living can diveſt him but by Uſurpation, or his own Conſent.

The entering into political Society, is ſo far from a Departure from this natural Right, that to preſerve it, was the ſole Reaſon why Men did ſo; and mutual Protection and Aſſiſtance is the only reaſonable Purpoſe of all reaſonable Societies. To make ſuch Protection practicable, Magiſtracy was formed, with Power to defend the Innocent from Violence, and to puniſh thoſe that offered it; nor can there be any other Pretence for Magiſtracy in the World. In order to this good End, the Magiſtrate is intruſted with conducting and applying the united Force of the Community; and with exacting ſuch a Share of every Man's Property, as is neceſſary to preſerve the Whole, and to defend every Man and his Property from foreign and domeſtick Injuries. Theſe are Boundaries of the Power of the Magiſtrate, who deſerts his Function whenever he breaks them. By the Laws of Society, he is more limited and reſtrained than any Man amongſt them; ſince, while they are abſolutely free in all their Actions, which purely concern themſelves; all his Actions, as a publick Perſon, being for the Sake of the Society, muſt refer to it, and anſwer the Ends of it.

It is a miſtaken Notion in Government, that the Intereſt of the Majority is only to be con-

ſulted, ſince in Society every Man has a Right to every Man's Aſſiſtance in the Enjoyment and Defence of his private Property; otherwiſe the greater Number may ſell the leſſer, and divide their Eſtates amongſt themſelves; and ſo, inſtead of a Society, where all peaceable Men are protected, become a Conſpiracy of the Many againſt the Minority. With as much Equity may one Man wantonly diſpoſe of all, and Violence may be ſanctified by mere Power.

And it is as fooliſh to ſay, that Government is concerned to meddle with the private Thoughts and Actions of Men, while they injure neither the Society, or any of its Members. Every Man is, in Nature and Reaſon, the Judge and Diſpoſer of his own domeſtick Affairs; and, according to the Rules of Religion and Equity, every Man muſt carry his own Conſcience. So that neither has the Magiſtrate a Right to direct the private Behaviour of Men; nor has the Magiſtrate, or any Body elſe, any manner of Power to model People's Speculations, no more than their Dreams. Government being intended to protect Men from the Injuries of one another, and not to direct them in their own Affairs, in which no one is intereſted but themſelves; it is plain, that their Thoughts and domeſtick Concerns are exempted intirely from its Juriſdiction: In Truth, Men's Thoughts are not ſubject to their own Juriſdiction.

Idiots and Lunaticks indeed, who cannot take Care of themſelves, muſt be taken Care of by others: But whilſt Men have their five Senſes, I cannot ſee what the Magiſtrate has to do with Actions by which the Society cannot be affected; and

and where he meddles with ſuch, he meddles impertinently or tyrannically. Muſt the Magiſtrate tye up every Man's Legs, becauſe ſome Men fall into Ditches? Or, muſt he put out their Eyes, becauſe with them they ſee lying Vanities? Or, would it become the Wiſdom and Care of Governors to eſtabliſh a travelling Society, to prevent People by a proper Confinement from throwing themſelves into Wells, or over Precipices? Or to endow a Fraternity of Phyſicians and Surgeons all over the Nation, to take Care of their Subjects Health, without being conſulted; and to vomit, bleed, purge, and ſcarify them at Pleaſure, whether they would or no, juſt as theſe eſtabliſhed Judges of Health ſhould think fit? If this were the Caſe, what a Stir and Hubbub ſhould we ſoon ſee kept about the eſtabliſhed Potions and Lancets; every Man, Woman, and Child, though ever ſo healthy, muſt be a Patient, or woe be to them! The beſt Diet and Medicines would ſoon grow pernicious from any other Hand; and their Pills alone, however ridiculous, inſufficient, or diſtaſteful, would be attended with a Bleſſing.

Let People alone, and they will take care of themſelves, and do it beſt; and if they do not, a ſufficient Puniſhment will follow their Neglect, without the Magiſtrate's Interpoſition and Penalties. It is plain that ſuch buſy Care and officious Intruſion into the perſonal Affairs, or private Actions, Thoughts, and Imaginations of Men, has in it more Craft than Kindneſs; and is only a Device to miſlead People, and pick their Pockets, under the falſe Pretence of the publick and their private Good. To quarrel with any Man for his Opinions, Humours, or the Faſhion of his

Cloaths, is an Offence taken without being given. What is it to a Magiſtrate how I waſh my Hands, or cut my Corns, what Faſhion or Colours I wear, or what Notions I entertain, or what Geſtures I uſe, or what Words I pronounce, when they pleaſe me, and do him and my Neighbour no hurt? As well may he determine the Colour of my Hair, and controul my Shape and Features.

True and impartial Liberty is therefore the Right of every Man to purſue the natural, reaſonable, and religious Dictates of his own Mind; to think what he will, and act as he thinks, provided he acts not to the Prejudice of another; to ſpend his own Money himſelf, and lay out the Produce of his Labour his own Way; and to labour for his own Pleaſure and Profit, and not for others who are idle, and would live and riot by pillaging and oppreſſing him, and thoſe that are like him.

So that Civil Government is only a partial Reſtraint put by the Laws of Agreement and Society upon natural and abſolute Liberty, which might otherwiſe grow licentious: And Tyranny is an unlimited Reſtraint put upon natural Liberty, by the Will of one or a few. Magiſtracy, amongſt a free People, is the Exerciſe of Power for the ſake of the People; and Tyrants abuſe the People, for the ſake of Power. Free Government is the protecting the People in their Liberties by ſtated Rules; Tyranny is a brutiſh Struggle for unlimited Liberty to one or a few, who would rob all others of their Liberty, and act by no Rule but lawleſs Luſt.

So much for an Idea of Civil Liberty. I will now add a Word or two, to ſhew how much it is the Delight and Paſſion of Mankind; and then ſhew its Advantages.

The Love of Liberty is an Appetite ſo ſtrongly implanted in the Nature of all living Creatures, that even the Appetite of Self-preſervation, which is allowed to be the ſtrongeſt, ſeems to be contained in it; ſince by the Means of Liberty, they enjoy the Means of preſerving themſelves, and of ſatisfying their Deſires in the Manner which they themſelves chuſe and like beſt. Many Animals can never be tamed, but feel the Bitterneſs of Reſtraint in the midſt of the kindeſt Uſage; and rather than bear it, grieve or ſtarve themſelves to Death; and ſome beat out their Brains againſt their Priſons.

Where Liberty is loſt, Life grows precarious, always miſerable, often intolerable. Liberty is, to live upon one's own Terms; Slavery is, to live at the mere Mercy of another; and a Life of Slavery is to thoſe who can bear it, a continual State of Uncertainty and Wretchedneſs, often an Apprehenſion of Violence, often the lingring Dread of a violent Death: But by others, when no other Remedy is to be had, Death is reckoned a good one. And thus to many Men, and to many other Creatures as well as Men, the Love of Liberty is beyond the Love of Life.

This Paſſion for Liberty in Men, and their Poſſeſſion of it, is of that Efficacy and Importance, that it ſeems the Parent of all the Virtues: And therefore, in free Countries there ſeems to be another Species of Mankind, than is to be found under Tyrants. Small Armies of *Greeks* and *Ro-*

mans deſpiſed the greateſt Hoſts of Slaves; and a Million of Slaves have been ſometimes beaten and conquered by a few Thouſand Freemen. Inſomuch, that the Difference ſeemed greater between them than between Men and Sheep. It was therefore well ſaid by *Lucullus*, when, being about to engage the great King *Tigranes*'s Army, he was told by ſome of his Officers, how prodigious great the ſame was, conſiſting of between three and four Hundred Thouſand Men: *No matter*, ſaid that brave *Roman*, drawing up his little Army of Fourteen Thouſand, but Fourteen Thouſand *Romans*: *No matter*; *The Lion never enquires into the Number of the Sheep.* And theſe Royal Troops proved no better; for the *Romans* had little elſe to do but to kill and purſue; which yet they could ſcarce do for laughing; ſo much more were they diverted than animated by the ridiculous Dread and ſudden Flight of theſe Imperial Slaves and Royal Cowards.

Men eternally cowed and oppreſſed by haughty and inſolent Governors, made baſe themſelves by the Baſeneſs of that ſort of Government, and become Slaves by ruling over Slaves, want Spirit and Souls to meet in the Field Freemen, who ſcorn Oppreſſors and are their own Governors, or at leaſt meaſure and direct the Power of their Governors.

Education alters Nature, and becomes ſtronger. Slavery, while it continues, being a perpetual Awe upon the Spirits, depreſſes them, and ſinks natural Courage; and Want and Fear, the Concomitants of Bondage, always produce Deſpondency and Baſeneſs: Nor will Men in Bonds ever fight bravely, but to be free. Indeed, what elſe

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ſhould they fight for; ſince every Victory that they gain for a Tyrant, makes them poorer and fewer; and, increaſing his Pride, increaſes his Cruelty, with their own Miſery and Chains?

Thoſe, who from Terror and Deluſion, the frequent Cauſes and certain Effects of Servitude, come to think their Governors greater than Men, as they find them worſe, will be as apt to think themſelves leſs: And when the Head and the Heart are thus both gone, the Hands will ſignify little. They who are uſed like Beaſts, will be apt to degenerate into Beaſts. But thoſe, on the contrary, who by the Freedom of their Government and Education, are taught and accuſtomed to think freely of Men and Things, find, by comparing one Man with another, that all Men are naturally alike; and that their Governors, as they have the ſame Face, Conſtitution and Shape with themſelves, and are ſubject to the ſame Sickneſs, Accidents, and Death, with the meaneſt of their People; ſo they poſſeſs the ſame Paſſions and Faculties of the Mind which their Subjects poſſeſs, and not better. They therefore ſcorn to degrade and proſtrate themſelves, to adore thoſe of their own Species, however covered with Titles, and diſguiſed by Power: They conſider them as their own Creatures; and, as far as they ſurmount themſelves, the Work of their own Hands, and only the chief Servants of the State, who have no more Power to do Evil than one of themſelves, and are void of every Privilege and Superiority, but to ſerve them and the State. They know it to be a Contradiction in Religion and Reaſon, for any Man to have a Right to do Evil; that not to reſiſt any Man's Wickedneſs, is to encourage

courage it; and that they have the leaſt Reaſon to bear Evil and Oppreſſion from their Governors, who of all Men are the moſt obliged to do them Good. They therefore deteſt Slavery, and deſpiſe or pity Slaves; and, adoring Liberty alone, as they who ſee its Beauty and feel its Advantages always will, it is no wonder that they are brave for it.

Indeed, Liberty is the divine Source of all human Happineſs. To poſſeſs, in Security, the Effects of our Induſtry, is the moſt powerful and reaſonable Incitement to be induſtrious: And to be able to provide for our Children, and leave them all that we have, is the beſt Motive to beget them. But where Property is precarious, Labour will languiſh. The Privileges of thinking, ſaying, and doing what we pleaſe, and of growing as rich as we can, without any other Reſtriction, than that by all this we hurt not the Publick, nor one another, are the glorious Privileges of Liberty; and its Effects, to live in Freedom, Plenty, and Safety.

Theſe are Privileges that increaſe Mankind, and the Happineſs of Mankind. And therefore Countries are generally peopled in Proportion as they are free, and are certainly happy in that Proportion: And upon the ſame Tract of Land that would maintain a Hundred Thouſand Freemen in Plenty, Five Thouſand Slaves would ſtarve. In *Italy*, fertile *Italy*, Men die ſometimes of Hunger amongſt the Sheaves, and in a plentiful Harveſt; for what they ſow and reap is none of their own; and their cruel and greedy Governors, who live by the Labour of their wretched Vaſſals, do not ſuffer them to eat the Bread of their own Earning, nor to ſuſtain their Lives with their own Hands.

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Liberty naturally draws new People to it, as well as encreaſes the old Stock; and Men as naturally run when they dare from Slavery and Wretchedneſs, whitherſoever they can help themſelves. Hence great Cities loſing their Liberty become Deſarts, and little Towns by Liberty grow great Cities; as will be fully proved before I have gone through this Argument. I will not deny, but that there are ſome great Cities of Slaves: But ſuch are only Imperial Cities, and the Seats of great Princes, who draw the Wealth of a Continent to their Capital, the Center of their Treaſure and Luxury. *Babylon*, *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, and *Alexandria*, were great Cities peopled by Tyrants, but peopled partly by Force, partly by the above Reaſon, and partly by Grants and Indulgencies. Their Power, great and boundleſs as it was, could not alone people their Cities; but they were forced to ſoften Authority by Kindneſs; and having brought the Inhabitants together by Force, and by driving them Captive like Cattle, could not keep them together without beſtowing on them many Privileges, to encourage the firſt Inhabitants to ſtay, and to invite more to come.

This was a Confeſſion in thoſe Tyrants, that their Power was miſchievous and unjuſt; ſince they could not erect one great City, and make it flouriſh, without renouncing in a great Meaſure their Power over it; which by granting it theſe Privileges, in Effect they did. Theſe Privileges were fixed Laws, by which the Trade and Induſtry of the Citizens was encouraged, and their Lives and Properties aſcertained and protected, and no longer ſubjected to the Law of mere Will and

and Pleaſure: And therefore, while theſe free Cities, enjoying their own Liberties and Laws, flouriſhed under them; the Provinces were miſerably haraſſed, pillaged, diſpeopled, and impoveriſhed, and the Inhabitants exhauſted, ſtarved, butchered, and carried away Captive.

This ſhews that all Civil Happineſs and Proſperity is inſeparable from Liberty; and that Tyranny cannot make Men, or Societies of Men, happy, without departing from its Nature, and giving them Privileges inconſiſtent with Tyranny. And here is an unanſwerable Argument amongſt a Thouſand others, againſt abſolute Power in a ſingle Man. Nor is there one Way in the World to give Happineſs to Communities, but by ſheltering them under certain and expreſs Laws, irrevocable at any Man's Pleaſure.

There is not, nor can be, any Security for a People to truſt to the mere Will of one, who, while his Will is his Law, cannot protect them if he would. The Number of Sycophants and wicked Counſellors, that he will always and neceſſarily have about him, will defeat all his good Intentions, by repreſenting Things falſly, and Perſons maliciouſly; by ſuggeſting Danger where it is not, and urging Neceſſity where there is none; by filling their own Coffers, under Colour of filling his, and by raiſing Money for themſelves, pretending the publick Exigencies of the State; by ſacrificing particular Men to their own Revenge, under pretence of publick Security; and by engaging him and his People in dangerous and deſtructive Wars, for their own Profit or Fame; by throwing publick Affairs into perpetual Confuſion, to prevent an Enquiry into their own Behaviour;

viour; and by making him jealous of his People, and his People of him, on purpoſe to manage and miſlead both Sides.

By all theſe, and many more wicked Arts, they will be conſtantly leading him into cruel and oppreſſive Meaſures, deſtructive to his People, ſcandalous and dangerous to himſelf; but entirely agreeable to their own Spirit and Deſigns. Thus will they commit all Wickedneſs by their Maſter's Authority, againſt his Inclinations, and grow rich by the People's Poverty, without his Knowledge; and the Royal Authority will be firſt a Warrant for Oppreſſion, afterwards a Protection from the Puniſhment due to it. For, in ſhort, the Power of Princes is often little elſe but a ſtalking Horſe to the Intrigues and Ambition of their Miniſters.

But if the Diſpoſition of ſuch a Prince be evil, what muſt be the forlorn Condition of his People, and what Door of Hope can remain for common Protection! The beſt Princes have often evil Counſellors, the Bad will have no other: And in ſuch a Caſe, what Bounds can be ſet to their Fury, and to the Havock they will make? The Inſtruments and Adviſers of Tyranny and Depredation always thrive beſt and are neareſt their Ends, when Depredation and Tyranny run higheſt: When moſt is plundered from the People, their Share is greateſt; we may therefore ſuppoſe every Evil will befal ſuch a People, without ſuppoſing extravagantly. No Happineſs, no Security, but certain Miſery, and a vile and precarious Life, are the bleſſed Terms of ſuch a Government —— A Government, which neceſſarily introduces all Evils, and from the ſame Neceſſity neither muſt nor can redreſs any.

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The Nature of his Education, bred up as he ever is in perpetual Flattery, makes him haughty and ignorant; and the Nature of his Government, which ſubſiſts by brutiſh Severity and Oppreſſion, makes him cruel. He is inacceſſible, but by his Miniſters, whoſe Study and Intereſt will be to keep him from knowing or helping the State of his miſerable People. Their Maſter's Knowledge in his own Affairs, would break in upon their Scheme and Power; they are not likely to lay before him Repreſentations of Grievances cauſed by themſelves; nor, if they be the Effects of his own Barbarity and Command, will he hear them.

Even where abſolute Princes are not Tyrants, there Miniſters will be Tyrants. But it is indeed impoſſible for an Arbitrary Prince to be otherwiſe, ſince Oppreſſion is abſolutely neceſſary to his being ſo. Without giving his People Liberty, he cannot make them happy; and by giving them Liberty, he gives up his own Power. So that to be and continue Arbitrary, he is doomed to be a Tyrant in his own Defence. The Oppreſſion of the People, Corruption, wicked Counſels, and pernicious Maxims in the Court, and every where Baſeneſs, Ignorance, and Chains, muſt ſupport Tyranny, or it cannot be ſupported. So that in ſuch Governments there are inevitable Grievances, without poſſible Redreſs; Miſery, without Mitigation or Remedy; whatever is good for the People, is bad for their Governors; and what is good for the Governors, is pernicious to the People.

G *I am*, &c.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, *January* 27, 1721. No. 63.

Civil Liberty produces all civil Bleſſings, and how; with the baneful Nature of Tyranny.

SIR,

I Go on with my Conſiderations upon Liberty, to ſhew that all Civil Virtue and Happineſs, every moral Excellency, all Politeneſs, all good Arts and Sciences, are produced by Liberty; and that all Wickedneſs, Baſeneſs, and Miſery, are immediately and neceſſarily produced by Tyranny; which being founded upon the Deſtruction of every thing that is valuable, deſirable, and noble, muſt ſubſiſt upon Means ſuitable to its Nature, and remain in everlaſting Enmity to all Goodneſs and every human Bleſſing.

By the Eſtabliſhment of Liberty, a due Diſtribution of Property and an equal Diſtribution of Juſtice is eſtabliſhed and ſecured. As Rapine is the Child of Oppreſſion, Juſtice is the Offſpring of Liberty, and her Hand-maid; it is the Guardian of Innocence, and the Terror of Vice: And when Fame, Honour, and Advantages are the Rewards of Virtue, ſhe will be courted for the Dower which ſhe brings; otherwiſe, like Beauty without Wealth, ſhe may be praiſed, but more probably will be calumniated, envied, and very often perſecuted; while Vice, when it is gainful, like rich Deformity and proſperous Folly, will be admired and purſued. Where Virtue is all her own Reward, ſhe will be ſeldom thought any;

any; and few will buy That for a great Price, which will ſell for none. So that Virtue, to be followed, muſt be endowed, and her Credit is beſt ſecured by her Intereſt; that is, ſhe muſt be ſtrengthened and recommended by the publick Laws, and embelliſhed by publick Encouragements, or elſe ſhe will be ſlighted and ſhunned.

Now the Laws which encourage and encreaſe Virtue, are the fixed Laws of general and impartial Liberty; Laws, which being the Rule of every Man's Actions, and the Meaſure of every Man's Power, make Honeſty and Equity their Intereſt. Where Liberty is thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and its Laws equally executed, every Man will find his Account in doing as he would be done unto, and no Man will take from another what he would not part with himſelf: Honour and Advantage will follow the Upright, Puniſhment overtake the Oppreſſor. The Property of the Poor will be as ſacred as the Privileges of the Prince, and the Law will be the only Bulwark of both. Every Man's honeſt Induſtry and uſeful Talents, while they are employed for the Publick, will be employed for himſelf; and while he ſerves himſelf, he will ſerve the Publick: Publick and private Intereſt will ſecure each other; all will chearfully give a Part to ſecure the Whole, and be brave to defend it.

Theſe certain Laws therefore are the only certain Beginnings and Cauſes of Honeſty and Virtue amongſt Men. There may be other Motives, I own; but ſuch as only ſway particular Men, few enough, God knows: And univerſal Experience has ſhewn us, that they are not generally prevailing, and never to be depended upon. Now

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theſe Laws are to be produced by Liberty alone, and only by ſuch Laws can Liberty be ſecured and increaſed: And to make Laws certainly good, they muſt be made by mutual Agreement, and have for their End the general Intereſt.

But Tyranny muſt ſtand upon Force; and the Laws of Tyranny being only the fickle Will and unſteady Appetite of one Man, which may vary every Hour; there can be no ſettled Rule of Right or Wrong in the variable Humours and ſudden Paſſions of a Tyrant, who, though he may ſometimes puniſh Crimes, perhaps more out of Rage than Juſtice, will be much more likely to perſecute and oppreſs Innocence, and to deſtroy Thouſands cruelly, for one that he protects juſtly. There are Inſtances of Princes, who, being out of Humour with a Favourite, have put to Death all that ſpoke well of him, and afterwards all that did not: Of Princes, who put ſome of their Miniſters to Death, for uſing one or two of their Barbers and Buffoons ill; as they did others of their Miniſters for uſing a whole Country well: Of Princes, who have deſtroyed a whole People for the Crimes or Virtues of one Man; and who, having killed a Minion in a Paſſion, have, to revenge themſelves upon thoſe who had not provoked them, deſtroyed, in the ſame unreaſonable Fury, a Hundred of their Servants who had no Hand in it, as well as all that had; who yet would have been deſtroyed, had they not done it: Of Princes, who have deſtroyed Millions in ſingle mad Projects and Expeditions: Of Princes, who have given up Cities and Provinces to the Revenge or Avarice of a vile Woman or Eunuch, to be plundered, or maſſacred, or burned, as he

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or ſhe thought fit to direct: Of Princes, who, to gratify the Ambition and Rapine of a few ſorry Servants, have loſt the Hearts of their whole People, and detached themſelves from their good Subjects, to protect theſe Men in their Iniquity, who yet had done them no other Service, but that of deſtroying their Reputation, and ſhaking their Throne.

Such are Arbitrary Princes, whoſe Laws are nothing but ſudden Fury, or laſting Folly and Wickedneſs in uncertain Shapes. —— Hopeful Rules theſe, for the governing of Mankind, and making them Happy! Rules which are none, ſince they cannot be depended upon for a Moment; and generally change for the worſe, if that can be. A Subject worth Twenty Thouſand Pounds to Day, may, by a ſudden Edict iſſued by the dark Counſel of a Traytor, be a Beggar to Morrow, and loſe his Life without forfeiting the ſame. The Property of a whole Kingdom ſhall be great, or little, or none, juſt at the Mercy of a Secretary's Pen, guided by a Child, or a Dotard, or a fooliſh Woman, or a favourite Buffoon, or a Gameſter, or whoever is uppermoſt for the Day; the next Day ſhall alter entirely the Yeſterday's Scheme, though not for the better; and the ſame Men, in different Humours, ſhall be the Authors of both. Thus in Arbitrary Countries, a Law aged Two Days is an old Law; and no Law is ſuffered to be a ſtanding Law, but ſuch as are found by long Experience to be ſo very bad, and ſo thoroughly deſtructive, that human Malice, and all the Arts of a Tyrant's Court cannot make them worſe —— A Court which never ceaſeth to ſqueeze, kill, and oppreſs, till it has wound up

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human Miſery ſo high, that it will go no further. This is ſo much Fact, that I appeal to all Hiſtory and Travels, and to thoſe that read them, whether in Arbitrary Countries, both in *Europe* and out of it, the People do not grow daily thinner, and their Miſery greater; and whether Countries are not peopled and rich, in Proportion to the Liberty which they enjoy and allow.

It has been long my Opinion, and is more and more ſo, that in ſlaviſh Countries the People muſt either throw off their cruel and deſtroying Government, and ſet up another in its Room, or in ſome Ages the Race of Mankind there will be extinct. Indeed, if it had not been for free States, that have repaired and prevented in many Places the Miſchiefs done by Tyrants, the Earth had been long ſince a Deſart, as the fineſt Countries in it are at this Day by that Means. The Gardens of the World, the fruitful and lovely Countries of the lower *Aſia*, filled formerly by Liberty with People, Politeneſs, and Plenty, are now glorioufly peopled with Owls and Graſhoppers; and perhaps here and there, at vaſt Diſtances, with Inhabitants not more valuable, and leſs happy; a few dirty Huts of Slaves groaning, ſtarving, and periſhing under the fatherly Protection of the *Sultan*, a Prince of the moſt Orthodox Standard.

The Laws therefore of Tyrants are not Laws, but wild Acts of Will, counſelled by Rage or Folly, and executed by Dragoons. And as theſe Laws are evil, all ſorts of Evil muſt concur to ſupport them. While the People have common Senſe left, they will eaſily ſee whether they are juſtly governed and well or ill uſed; whether they

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are protected or plundered: They will know that no Man ought to be the Director of the Affairs of All, without their Conſent; that no Conſent can give him unlimited Power over their Bodies and Minds, and that the Laws of Nature can never be entirely abrogated by poſitive Laws; but that, on the contrary, the entering into Society, and becoming ſubject to Government, is only the parting with natural Liberty in ſome Inſtances, to be protected in the Enjoyment of it in others.

So that for any Man to have Arbitrary Power, he muſt have it without Conſent; or if it be unadviſedly given at firſt, they who gave it, ſoon repent when they find its Effects. In Truth, all thoſe Princes that have ſuch Power, by keeping up great Armies in Time of Peace, effectually confeſs that they rule without Conſent, and dread their People, whoſe worſt Enemies they undoubtedly are. An Arbitrary Prince therefore muſt preſerve and execute his Power by Force and Terror; which yet will not do, without calling in the Auxiliary Aids and ſtrict Allies of Tyranny, Impoſture, and conſtant Oppreſſion. Let his People be ever ſo low and miſerable, if they be not alſo blind, he is not ſafe. He muſt have eſtabliſhed Deceivers to miſlead them with Lies, to terrify them with the Wrath of God, in caſe they ſtir Hand or Foot, or ſo much as a Thought, to mend their doleful Condition; as if the good God was the Sanctifier of all Villainy, the Patron of the worſt of all Villains! He muſt have a Band of ſtanding Cut-throats to murder all Men who would ſacrilegiouſly defend their own.

And

And both his Cut-throats and his Deceivers muſt go Shares with him in his Tyranny.

Men will naturally ſee their Intereſt, feel their Condition; will quickly find that the Sword, the Rack, and the Spunge, are not Government, but the Height of Cruelty and Robbery; and will never ſubmit to them, but by the united Powers of Violence and Deluſion: Their Bodies muſt be chained, their Minds enchanted and deceived; the Sword kept conſtantly over their Heads, and their Spirits kept low with Poverty, before they can be brought to be uſed at the wanton and brutiſh Pleaſure of the moſt dignified and lofty Oppreſſor. So that God muſt be belied, his Creatures muſt be fettered, frightened, deceived, and ſtarved, and Mankind made baſe and undone, that one of the worſt of them may live riotouſly and ſafely amongſt his Whores, Butchers, and Buffoons.

Men, therefore, muſt ceaſe to be Men, and in Stupidity and Tameneſs grow Cattle, before they can become quiet Subjects to ſuch a Government; which is a Complication of all the Villainies, Falſhood, Oppreſſion, Cruelty, and Depredation, upon the Face of the Earth: Nor can there be a more provoking, impudent, ſhocking, and blaſphemous Poſition, than to aſſert all this *Groupe* of Horrors, or the Author of them, to be of God's Appointment.

If ſuch Kings are by God appointed,
Satan may be the Lord's Anointed.

And whoever ſcatters ſuch Doctrine ought, by all the Laws of God, Reaſon, and Self-Preſervation,

tion, to be put to Death as a general Poiſoner, an Advocate for publick Deſtruction.

All Men own, that it is the Duty of a Prince to protect his People: And ſome have ſaid, that it is their Duty to obey him, when he butchers them——An admirable Conſequence, and full of ſweet Conſolation! His whole Buſineſs and Office is to defend them, and to do them good; therefore, they are bound to let him deſtroy them—Was ever ſuch Impudence in an enlightened Country? It is perfectly agreeable to the Doctrines and Followers of *Mahomet:* But ſhall *Engliſhmen*, who make their own Laws, be told, that they have no Right to the common Air, to the Life and Fortune which God has given them, but by the Permiſſion of an Officer of their own making; who is what he is only for their Sakes and Security, and has no more Right to theſe Bleſſings, nor to do Evil, than one of themſelves? And ſhall we be told this by Men, who are eternally the firſt to violate their own Doctrines? Or ſhall they after this have the Front to teach us any Doctrine, or to recommend to us any one Virtue, when they have thus given up all Virtue and Truth, and every Bleſſing that Life affords? For there is no Evil, Miſery, and Wickedneſs, which Arbitrary Monarchies do not produce, and muſt produce; nor do they, nor can they produce any certain, general or diffuſive Good.

I have ſhewn, in my laſt, that an Arbitrary Prince cannot protect his People if he would; and I add here, that he dares not. It would diſguſt the Inſtruments of his Power, and the Sharers in his Oppreſſion, who will conſider the Property of the People as the Perquiſite of their Office, and

and claim a Privilege of being little Tyrants, for making him a great one: So that every Kindneſs to his Subjects will be a Grievance to his Servants, and he muſt aſſert and exerciſe his Tyranny to the Height for their Sakes, or they will do it for him. And the Inſtances are rare, if any, of any Abſolute Monarch's protecting in earneſt his People againſt the Depredations of his Miniſters and Soldiers, but it has coſt him his Life; as may be ſhewn by many Examples in the *Roman* Hiſtory: For this the Emperor *Pertinax* was murdered, and ſo was *Galba*.

Machiavel has told us, that it is impoſſible for ſuch a Prince to pleaſe both the People and his Soldiers: The one will not be ſatisfied without Protection, nor the other without Rapine: To comply with the People, he muſt give up his Power; to comply with his Soldiers, he muſt give up his People. So that to continue what he is, and to preſerve himſelf from the Violence of his Followers, he muſt countenance all their Villainies and Oppreſſion, and be himſelf no more than an Imperial Thief at the Head of a Band of Thieves; for which Character he is generally well qualified by the baſe and cruel Maxims of that ſort of Power, and by the vile Education always given to ſuch a Prince, by the worſt and moſt infamous of all Men, their ſupple and lying Sycophants.

Even the Chriſtian Religion can do but little or no Good in Lands of Tyranny, ſince Miracles have ceaſed; but is made to do infinite Harm, by being corrupted and perverted into a deadly Engine in the Hands of a Tyrant and his Impoſtors, to rivet his Subjects Chains, and

to confirm them thorough Wretches, Slaves, and Ignorants. I cannot indeed ſay, that they have the Chriſtian Religion at all amongſt them, but only uſe its amiable Name to countenance abominable Falſhoods, Nonſenſe, and heavy Oppreſſion; to defend furious and implacable Bigotry, which is the direct Characteriſtick and Spirit of *Mahometiſm*, and deſtroys the very Genius and firſt Principles of Chriſtianity. All this will be further ſhewn hereafter. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that Arbitrary Monarchy is a conſtant War upon Heaven and Earth, againſt the Souls as well as Bodies and Properties of Men.

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I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 3, 1721. No. 64.

Trade and Naval Power the Offspring of Civil Liberty only, and cannot ſubſiſt without it.

SIR,

I HAVE in former Letters begun to ſhew, by an Induction of Particulars, and ſhall hereafter more fully ſhew, that Population, Riches, true Religion, Virtue, Magnanimity, Arts, Sciences and Learning, are the neceſſary Effects, and Productions of Liberty; and ſhall ſpend this Paper, in proving that an extenſive Trade, Navigation, and Naval Power, entirely flow from the ſame Source: In this Caſe, if natural Advantages and Encouragements be wanting, Art, Expence, and Violence, are loſt and thrown away.

away. Nothing is more certain than that Trade cannot be forced; ſhe is a coy and humorous Dame, who muſt be won by Flattery and Allurements, and always flies Force and Power; ſhe is not confined to Nations, Sects, or Climates, but travels and wanders about the Earth, till ſhe fixes her Reſidence where ſhe finds the beſt Welcome and kindeſt Reception; her Contexture is ſo nice and delicate, that ſhe cannot breathe in a tyrannical Air; Will and Pleaſure are ſo oppoſite to her Nature, that but touch her with the Sword and ſhe dies: But if you give her gentle and kind Entertainment, ſhe is a grateful and beneficent Miſtreſs; ſhe will turn Deſarts into fruitful Fields, Villages into great Cities, Cottages into Palaces, Beggars into Princes, convert Cowards into Heroes, Blockheads into Philoſophers; will change the Coverings of little Worms into the richeſt Brocades, the Fleeces of harmleſs Sheep into the Pride and Ornaments of Kings, and by a farther Metamorphoſis will tranſmute them again into armed Hoſts and haughty Fleets.

Now it is abſolutely impoſſible, from the Nature of an Arbitrary Government, that ſhe ſhould enjoy Security and Protection, or indeed be free from Violence, under it. There is not one Man in a Thouſand that has the Endowments and Abilities neceſſary to govern a State, and much fewer yet that have juſt Notions how to make Trade and Commerce uſeful and advantageous to it; and amongſt theſe, it is rare to find one who will forego all perſonal Advantages, and devote himſelf and his Labours wholly to his Country's Intereſt: But if ſuch a Phœnix ſhould ariſe in any Country, he will find it hard to get Acceſs to an

Arbitrary Court, and much harder yet to grapple with and ſtem the raging Corruptions in it, where Virtue has nothing to do, and Vice rides triumphant; where Bribery, ſervile Flattery, blind Submiſſion, riotous Expence, and very often Luſt and unnatural Proſtitutions, are the Ladders to Greatneſs; which will certainly be ſupported by the ſame Methods by which it is obtained.

What has a virtuous Man to do, or what can he do, in ſuch Company? If he pity the People's Calamities, he ſhall be called Seditious; if he recommend any Publick Good, he ſhall be called Preaching Fool; if he ſhould live ſoberly and virtuouſly himſelf, they will think him fit only to be ſent to a Cloyſter; if he do not flatter the Prince and his Superiors, he will be thought to envy their Proſperity; if he preſume to adviſe his Prince to purſue his true Intereſt, he will be eſteemed a formidable Enemy to the whole Court, who will unite to deſtroy him: In fine, his Virtues will be Crimes, Reproaches, and of dangerous Conſequence to thoſe who have none. As Jayls pick up all the little pilfering Rogues of a Country, ſo ſuch Courts engroſs all the great Ones; who have no Buſineſs there but to grow rich, and to riot upon the publick Calamities, to uſe all the Means of Oppreſſion and Rapine, to make haſty Fortunes before the Bow-ſtring overtakes them, or a ſudden Favourite ſupplants them.

Now what Encouragement or Security can Trade and Induſtry receive from ſuch a Crew of Banditti? No Privileges and Immunities, or even Protection, can be obtained but for Money, and are always granted to ſuch who give moſt; and theſe again ſhall be curtailed, altered, abrogated,

gated, and cancelled, upon the Change of a Miniſter, or of his Inclinations, Intereſt, and Caprices: Monopolies, excluſive Companies, Liberties of Pre-emption, &c. ſhall be obtained for Bribes or Favour, or in Truſt for great Men, or vile and worthleſs Women. Some Merchants ſhall be openly encouraged and protected, and get Exemptions from Searches and Duties, or ſhall be connived at in eſcaping them; others ſhall be burthened, oppreſſed, manacled, ſtopt, and delayed, to extort Preſents, to wreak Revenge, or to give Preference of Markets to Favourites. Governors of Port-Towns, or of Colonies, who have purchaſed their Employments at Court, ſhall be indulged and countenanced in making Repriſals upon the Traders, and to enable them to ſatisfy the yearly Preſents due to Minions: Admirals and Commanders of Men of War ſhall preſs their Sailors, or be paid for not doing it, and Military Officers and Soldiers ſhall moleſt and interrupt them in the Courſe of their Commerce and honeſt Induſtry.

Nor ſhall it be in the Power of the moſt vigilant, active, and virtuous Prince to prevent theſe and a Thouſand other daily Oppreſſions; he muſt ſee with his Miniſters Eyes, and hear with their Ears; nor can there be any Acceſs to him but by their Means, and by their Leave: Conſtant Spies ſhall watch and obſerve the firſt Intentions, or leaſt Approaches to a Complaint; and the Perſon injured ſhall be threatned, way-laid, impriſoned, perhaps murdered; but if he eſcape all their Treacheries, and can get to the Ear of his Prince, it is great odds but he will be treated and puniſhed as a Calumniator, a falſe Accuſer,

and a ſeditious Diſturber of his Majeſty's Government: No Witneſs will dare to appear for him, many falſe ones will be ſuborned againſt him; and the whole Poſſe of Miniſters, Officers, Favourites, Paraſites, Pathicks, Strumpets, Buffoons, Fidlers, and Pimps, will conſpire to ruin him, as a common Enemy to their common Intereſts.

But if all theſe Miſchiefs could be avoided, the Neceſſities of ſuch a Prince, ariſing from the Profuſion and vaſt Expence of his Court, from his fooliſh Wars, and the Depredations, Embezzlements, and various Thefts of his Miniſters and Servants, will be always calling for new Supplies, for new Extortions, which muſt be raiſed by all the Means by which they can be raiſed: New and ſudden Impoſitions ſhall be put upon Trade, new Loans be exacted from Merchants; Commodities of general Uſe ſhall be bought up by the Prince's Order, perhaps upon Truſt, and afterwards retailed again at extravagant Advantages: Merchants ſhall be encouraged to import their Goods upon Promiſes of eaſy and gentle Uſage; theſe Goods when imported ſhall be ſubjected to exorbitant Impoſitions and Cuſtoms, perhaps confiſcated upon frivolous Pretences. But if theſe, and infinite other Oppreſſions, could be prevented for ſome time, by the Vigilance of a wiſe Prince, or the Care of an able Miniſter; yet there can be no probable Security, or even Hopes of the Continuance of honeſt and prudent Meaſures in ſuch a Government: For One wiſe Prince ſo educated, there will be Twenty fooliſh ones; and for One honeſt Miniſter, there will be a Thouſand corrupt ones.

Under

Under ſuch natural Diſadvantages, perpetual Uncertainties, or rather certain Oppreſſions, no Men will embark large Stocks and extenſive Talents for Buſineſs, breed up their Children to precarious Employments, build Forts or plant Colonies, when the Breath of a weak Prince, or the Caprice of a corrupt Favourite, ſhall daſh at once all their Labours and their Hopes; and therefore it is impoſſible that any Trade can ſubſiſt long in ſuch a Government, but what is neceſſary to ſupport the Luxury and Vices of a Court; and even ſuch Trade is, for the moſt part, carried on by the Stocks, and for the Advantage of free Countries, and their own petty Merchants are only Factors to the others. True Merchants are Citizens of the World, and that is their Country where they can live beſt and moſt ſecure; and whatever they can pick up and gather together in tyrannical Governments, they remove to free ones. *Tavernier* inveſted all the Riches he had amaſſed by his long Ramble over the World, in the barren Rocks of *Switzerland:* And being asked by the laſt King of *France*, how it came to paſs that he, who had ſeen the fineſt Countries on the Globe, came to lay out his Fortune in the worſt; he gave his haughty Majeſty this ſhort Anſwer, That he was willing to have ſomething which he could call his own.

As I think it is evident by what I have ſaid before, that Trade cannot long ſubſiſt, much leſs flouriſh, in Arbitrary Governments; ſo there is ſo cloſe and inſeparable a Connexion between that and Naval Power, that I dare boldly affirm, that the latter can never arrive to any formidable Height, and continue long in that Situation, un-

der ſuch a State. Where there is an extenſive Trade, great Numbers of able-bodied and courageous Sailors, Men bred up to Fatigues, Hardſhips, and Hazards, and conſequently Soldiers by Profeſſion, are kept in conſtant Pay; not only without any Charge to the Publick, but greatly to its Benefit; not only by daily adding to its Wealth and Power, but by venting and employing Abroad, to their Country's Honour and Safety, thoſe turbulent and unruly Spirits that would be Fuel for Factions, and the Tools and Inſtruments of ambitious or diſcontented Great Men at Home. Theſe Men are always ready at their Country's Call, to defend the Profeſſion which they live by, and with it the publick Happineſs: They are, and ever muſt be, in the publick Intereſt, with which their own is ſo cloſely united; for they ſubſiſt by exporting the Productions of the People's Induſtry, which they conſtantly encreaſe by ſo doing: They receive their Pay from the Merchants, a Sort of Men always in the Intereſts of Liberty, from which alone they can receive Protection and Encouragement. And as this Race of Men contribute vaſtly to the publick Security and Wealth, ſo they take nothing from it: They are not quartered up and down their native Country, like the Bands of deſpotick Princes, to oppreſs their Subjects, interrupt their Induſtry, debauch their Wives and Daughters, inſult their Perſons, to be Examples of Lewdneſs and Prodigality, and to be always ready at Hand to execute the bloody Commands of a Tyrant.

No Monarch was ever yet powerful enough to keep as many Seamen in conſtant Pay at his own Expence, as ſingle Cities have been able to do with-

without any at all: The Pay of a Sailor, with his Proviſion, is equal to that of a Trooper in Arbitrary Governments; nor can they learn their Trade, by taking the Sea-Air for a few Summer Months, and wafting about the Coaſts of their own Country: They gain Experience and Boldneſs, by various and difficult Voyages, by being conſtantly inured to Hardſhips and Dangers. Nor is it poſſible for ſingle Princes, with all their Power and Vigilance, to have ſuch regular Supplies of Naval Proviſions, as trading Countries muſt have always in Store. There muſt be a regular and conſtant Intercourſe with the Nations from whom theſe Supplies come; a certain and regular Method of paying for them; and conſtant Demands will produce conſtant Supplies. There are always numerous Magazines in the Hands of private Merchants, ready for their own Uſe or Sale. There muſt be great Numbers of Shipwrights, Anchor-Smiths, Rope and Sail-Makers, and infinite other Artificers, ſure always of conſtant Employment; and who, if they are oppreſſed by one Maſter, may go to another. There muſt be Numbers of Ships uſed for Trade, that, upon Occaſions, may be employed for Men of War, for Tranſports, for Fireſhips, and Tenders. Now all theſe Things, or ſcarce any of them, can ever be brought about by Arbitrary Courts; Stores will be embezzled, exhauſted, and worn out, before new ones are ſupplied; Payments will not be punctually made; Artificers will be diſcouraged, oppreſſed, and often left without Employ: Every thing will be done at an exorbitant Expence, and often not done when it is paid for; and when Payments are made, the greateſt

Part ſhall go in Fees, or for Bribes, or in ſecret Truſts.

For theſe Reaſons, and many others, deſpotick Monarchs, though infinitely powerful at Land, yet could never rival *Neptune*, and extend their Empire over the liquid World; for though great and vigorous Efforts have been often made by theſe haughty Tyrants of Mankind, to ſubject that Element to their Ambition and their Power, being taught by woful Experience, ariſing from perpetual Loſſes and Diſappointments, of what vaſt Importance that Dominion was to unlimited and univerſal Sovereignty; yet all their Riches, Application and Pride, have never been able, in one Inſtance, to effect it. Sometimes indeed, Trade, like a Phantome, has made a faint Appearance at an Arbitrary Court, but diſappeared again at the firſt Approach of the Morning Light: She is the Portion of free States, is married to Liberty, and ever flies the foul and polluted Embraces of a Tyrant.

The little State of *Athens* was always able to humble the Pride, and put a Check to the growing Greatneſs of the towering *Perſian* Monarchs, by their Naval Power; and when ſtripped of all their Territories by Land, and even their Capital City, the Seat of their Commonwealth, yet had Strength enough left to vanquiſh numerous Fleets, which almoſt covered the Sea, and to defeat an Expedition carried on by Armies that drank up Rivers, and exhauſted all the Stores of Land.

The ſingle City of *Venice* has proved itſelf an Over-match in Naval Power to the great *Ottoman* Empire, though poſſeſſed of ſo many Iſlands, uſeful Ports, environed with ſo many Sea-Coaſts,

and

and abounding with all ſorts of Stores neceſſary to Navigation; and in the Year Fifty-ſix, gave the *Turks* ſo ſignal an Overthrow at the *Dardanels*, as put that State in ſuch a Conſternation, that they believed their Empire at an End; and it is thought if the *Venetians* had purſued their Victory, they had driven them out of *Conſtantinople*, and even out of *Europe*; for the Grand Seignior himſelf was preparing to fly into *Aſia*. The little Iſland of *Rhodes* defended itſelf for ſome Ages againſt the whole Power of the *Sultan*, though encompaſſed by his Dominions; and it was with great Difficulty, Hazard, and Expence, that he at laſt overcame them, and drove the Inhabitants to *Malta*, where they have ever ſince braved his Pride, and live upon the Plunder of his Subjects: And notwithſtanding all his numerous and expenſive Efforts to ſhare with the Chriſtians the Dominion of the Sea; yet there are no other Seeds or Traces of it left through his great and extenſive Territories, but what are found in the free Pyratical States of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*.

Neither the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, the *Great Mogul*, the many Kings who command the Banks of the *Ganges*, nor all the haughty Potentates of *Aſia* and *Africk*, are able to contend at Sea with the *Engliſh* or *Dutch Eaſt-India* Companies, or even to defend their Subjects againſt but a few Pirates, with all their Population, and their Mines of Gold and Diamonds.

Spain in all her Pride, with the Wealth of both *Indies*, with Dominions ſo vaſt and extenſive, that the Sun riſes and ſets within them, and a Sea-Line, which if extended would environ the Earth, yet was not able to diſpute their Title to that Element

ment with a few revolted Provinces, who grew up through the Courſe of an expenſive War to that amazing Greatneſs, that in leſs than a Century they ſaw themſelves, from a few Fiſher-Towns encompaſſed with Bogs and Moraſſes, become a moſt formidable State, equal to the greateſt Potentates at Sea, and to moſt at Land; to have great Kings in a diſtant World ſubmit to be their Vaſſals; and, in fine, to be Protectors of that mighty Nation from whom they revolted. Here is a ſtupendous Inſtance of the Effects of Liberty, which neighbouring Monarchs with Twenty times the Territory tremble at, and Poſterity will hardly believe.

France, with all its Œconomy, Addreſs, and Power, with its utmoſt and moſt expenſive Efforts, and the Aſſiſtance of neighbouring and even rival Kings, has not been able to eſtabliſh an Empire upon that coy Element. She ſaw it, like a Muſhroom, riſe in a Night, and wither again the next Day. It is true, that at immenſe Expence and infinite Labour, ſhe got together a formidable Fleet, and with it got Victories, and took Thouſands of rival Ships; yet every Day grew weaker as her Enemies grew ſtronger, and could never recover a ſingle Defeat, which in *Holland* would have been repaired in a few more Weeks than the Battle was Days in fighting: So impoſſible is it for Art to contend againſt Nature, and Slavery to diſpute the Naval Prize with Liberty.

Sweden and *Denmark*, though poſſeſſed of the Naval Stores of *Europe*, Nations who ſubſiſt by that Commerce, and are conſtantly employed to build Ships for their Neighbours, yet are not able, with their united Force, to equip, man out, and keep

keep upon the Sea for any conſiderable Time, a Fleet large enough to diſpute with an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Squadron; and I dare venture my Reputation and Skill in Politicks, by boldly aſſerting, that another vain and unnatural Northern Apparition will ſoon vaniſh and diſappear again, like the Morning-Star at the Glimmering of the Sun, and every one ſhall ask, *Where is it?*

T

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 10, 1721. No. 65.

Military Virtue produced and ſupported by Civil Liberty only.

SIR,

I HAVE ſhewn in my laſt, that Trade and Naval Power are produced by Liberty only; and ſhall ſhew in This, that Military Virtue can proceed from nothing elſe, as I have in a good Meaſure ſhewn already.

In free Countries, as People work for themſelves, ſo they fight for themſelves: But in Arbitrary Countries, it is all one to the People, in Point of Intereſt, who conquers them; they cannot be worſe uſed; and when a Tyrant's Army is beaten, his Country is conquered: He has no Reſource, his Subjects having neither Arms, nor Courage, nor Reaſon to fight for him: He has no Support but his ſtanding Forces, who, for enabling him to oppreſs, are Sharers in his Oppreſſion; and fighting for themſelves while they fight for

for him, do ſometimes fight well: But his poor People, who are oppreſſed by him, can have no other Concern for his Fate, than to wiſh him the worſt.

In Attacks upon a free State, every Man will fight to defend it, becauſe every Man has ſomething to defend in it. He is in love with his Condition, his Eaſe, and Property, and will venture his Life rather than loſe them, becauſe with them he loſes all the Bleſſings of Life. When theſe Bleſſings are gone, it is Madneſs to think that any Man will ſpill his Blood for him who took them away, and is doubtleſs his Enemy, though he may call himſelf his Prince. It is much more natural to wiſh his Deſtruction, and help to procure it.

For theſe Reaſons, ſmall free States have conquered the greateſt Princes; and the greateſt Princes have never been able to conquer free States, but either by ſurprizing them baſely, or by corrupting them, or by Forces almoſt infinitely ſuperior, or when they were diſtracted and weakened by domeſtick Diviſions and Treachery.

The *Greeks* thought ſcarce any Number of *Perſians* too great for their own ſmall Armies, or any Army of their own too ſmall for the greateſt Number of *Perſians*. *Ageſilaus* invaded the great *Perſian* Empire, the greateſt then in the World, at the Head of no more than Ten Thouſand Foot, and Four Thouſand Horſe, and carried all before him; he defeated the *Aſiatick* Forces with ſo much Eaſe, that they ſcarce interrupted his March; he ſubdued their Provinces as faſt as he entered them, and took their Cities without ſitting down before them: And had he not been recalled

called by his Countrymen, to defend his own City againſt a Confederacy of other *Greek* Cities, much more terrible Foes than the greateſt Armies of the great King, it is very probable that that brave old *Spartan* would have ſoon robbed him of his Empire.

And not long before this, when *Cyrus* made War upon his Brother *Artaxerxes* for the Crown, Thirteen Thouſand auxiliary *Greeks*, entertained by him for that End, routed the Emperor's Army of Nine Hundred Thouſand Men, and got the Victory for *Cyrus*, had he outlived the Battle to enjoy it. And though they had now loſt the Prince they fought for, and afterwards *Clearchus* their General, who with other of their Officers was treacherouſly murdered by the *Perſians* when they had brought him to a Parley; though they were in great Streights, deſtitute of Horſes, Money, and Proviſions, far from Home, in the Heart of an Enemy's Country, watched, and diſtreſſed by a great Army of Four Hundred Thouſand Men, who waited for an Occaſion to cut them off in their Retreat, if they attempted it; yet theſe excellent Soldiers, excellent by being Freemen, commanded by the famous *Xenophon*, made good that Retreat of Two Thouſand Three Hundred Miles over the Bellies of their Enemies, through Provinces of *Perſians*, and in ſpight of a vaſt Hoſt of *Perſians*, who coaſted and haraſſed them all the Way.

Alexander of *Macedon*, with his free *Greeks*, attacked the *Perſians*, and beat them at all Diſadvantages in the open Fields, when they were five, ten, nay, twenty Times his Number; and having paſſed the *Helleſpont* with not Fifteen Thouſand Pounds

Pounds in his Treaſury, and not above Thirty-five Thouſand Men in his Army, he made himſelf Maſter of that great and overgrown Empire, with as much Expedition as he could travel over it; and though he fought three Battles for it, he ſcarce loſt in them all one Regiment of his Men.

Leonidas, at the Head of Four Thouſand *Greeks*, fought *Xerxes* at the Head of Six and Twenty Hundred Thouſand *Perſians*, according to *Herodotus*, in the Streights of *Thermopylæ* for two Days together, and repulſed them at every Aſſault with vaſt Slaughter; nor did they at laſt get the better of him, till being led by a treacherous *Greek* a ſecret Way over the Mountains, they fell upon him in the Rear, and ſurrounded him with their Numbers; neither did he then deſert his Poſt, though all his Men retreated, except Three Hundred *Spartans*, who reſolutely ſtood by him, and were all ſlain with him upon the Spot, with Twenty Thouſand *Perſians* round them.

The *Romans*, enjoying the ſame Liberty, and animated by it, vanquiſhed all the enſlaved Nations of the known World, with the ſame Eaſe, and upon the ſame unequal Terms. The ſubduing of free Countries coſt them long Labour and Patience, great Difficulty, and a World of Blood; and they ſuffered many Defeats before they got a deciſive Victory: The Inhabitants being all Freemen, were all brave, all Soldiers, and were exhauſted before their States could be conquered: And the *Volſcians*, *Æquians*, *Tuſcans*, and *Samnites*, preſerved their Liberties, as long as they had Men left to defend them. The *Samnites* particularly declared in their Embaſſy to *Hannibal*, that having often brought great Numbers of Men into the Field.

Field againſt the *Romans*, and ſometimes defeated the *Roman* Armies, they were at laſt ſo waſted that they could not reſiſt one *Roman* Legion.

But when the *Romans* came to War againſt great and arbitrary Kings, they had little elſe to do but to ſhew their Swords; they gained Battles almoſt without fighting, and Two or Three Legions have routed Three or Four Hundred Thouſand Men. One Battle generally won a Kingdom, and ſometimes two or three. *Antiochus* was ſo frightened with one Skirmiſh with *Acilius* at *Thermopylæ*, that he ran away out of *Greece*, and left all that he poſſeſſed there to the *Romans*; and being beaten afterwards by *Scipio*, the Brother of *Africanus*, he quitted to them all his Kingdoms and Territories on this Side Mount *Taurus*. And *Paulus Æmilius*, by one Battle with *Perſeus*, became Maſter of *Macedonia*. *Tigranes*, *Ptolomy*, and *Syphax*, all Monarchs of mighty Territories, were ſtill more eaſily vanquiſhed. So that the great Kingdoms of *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, *Numidia*, and *Macedon*, were all of them much more eaſily overcome, and ſuffered much fewer Defeats than the *Samnites* alone, though inhabiting a ſmall barren Province.

The only dreadful Foes which the *Romans* ever found, were People as free as themſelves; and the moſt dreadful of all were the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* alone beat them oftner, and ſlew more of their Men in Battle, than all the Kings in the World ever did, or could do. But for all the great and repeated Defeats which he gave them, though he had deſtroyed Two Hundred Thouſand of their Men, and many of their excellent Commanders; though, at the ſame Time, their Ar-

Armies were cut off in *Spain*, and with them the two brave *Scipio*'s; and though they had ſuffered great Loſſes in *Sicily*, and at Sea, yet they never ſunk nor wanted Soldiers, nor their Soldiers Courage; and as to great Commanders, they had more and better than ever they had before: And having conquered *Hannibal*, they quickly conquered the World.

This vaſt Virtue of theirs, and this unconquerable Spirit, was not owing to Climate or Complexion, but to Liberty alone, and to the Equality of their Government, in which every *Roman* had a Share: They were nurſed up in the Principles of Liberty; in their Infancy they were inſtructed to love it; Experience afterwards confirmed their Affections, and ſhewed them its glorious Advantages: Their own happy Condition taught them a Contempt and Indignation for thoſe wretched and barbarous Governments, which could neither afford their Subjects Happineſs nor Protection: And when they attacked ſuch Governments and their wretched People, they found themſelves like Lions amongſt Sheep.

It is therefore Government alone that makes Men cowardly or brave: And *Boccalini* well ridicules the abſurd Complaint of the Princes of his Time, that their Subjects wanted that Love for their Country which was found in free States, when he makes *Apollo* tell them, that no People were ever in Love with Rapine, Fraud, and Oppreſſion; that they muſt mend their own Adminiſtration, and their People's Condition; and that People will then love their Country, when they live happily in it. The old *Romans* were Maſters of Mankind; but the preſent Race of People in *Rome*,

Rome, are not a Match for one of the *Swiſs* Cantons; nor could theſe Cantons ever be conquered, even by the united Forces of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was the laſt that durſt invade them; but though he had been a long Terror and conſtant Rival to *Louis* the Eleventh of *France*, a crafty, politick, and powerful Monarch, and often too hard for him; he paid dear for his Bravery in attacking the *Switzers*, and loſt by doing it Three Armies, and his own Life. They were a free People, and fought in their own Quarrel; the greateſt Incitement upon Earth to Boldneſs and Magnanimity. The *Switzers* had a Property, though in Rocks; and were Freemen, though amongſt Mountains. This gives them the Figure which they make in *Europe*; ſuch a Figure, that they are courted by the greateſt Princes in it, and have ſupported ſome of them in their Wars, when their own native Slaves could not ſupport them.

The *Dutch*, having revolted from the greateſt Potentate then in *Europe*, defended themſelves againſt all his Power for near an Hundred Years, and grew rich all the Time, while he grew poor; ſo poor, that *Spain* has never yet recovered its Loſſes in that War: And though they are in their Conſtitution more formed for Trade than War, yet their own Bravery in their own Defence is aſtoniſhing to thoſe that know not what the Spirit of Liberty can do in any People: Even their Women joined to defend their Walls; as the Women of *Sparta* once did, and as the Women of *Barcelona* more lately did, though the united Force of the Two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain* had at laſt the Honour to take that City, eſpecially

eſpecially when We, who had engaged them in the War, had alſo given them up.

Theſe ſame *Dutch* in that War, when they were cloſely beſieged in one of their Towns by the *Spaniſh* Army, let in the Sea upon their Country, truſting rather to the Mercy of that Element, than to the Mercy of an invading Tyrant; and the Sea ſaved them. It muſt be remembered too, that they had the Power of the Emperor, as well as that of *Spain*, to contend with; both theſe mighty Monarchs having joined their Counſels and Arms to ſubdue Seven little Provinces, which yet they never were able to ſubdue: The City of *Oſtend* alone coſt them a Three Years Siege, and an Hundred and Thirty Thouſand Men; and when they took it, they took only a Heap of Rubbiſh, to which it was reduced before it was ſurrendered.

In free States, every Man being a Soldier, or quickly made ſo, they improve in a War, and every Campaign fight better and better: Whereas the Armies of an abſolute Prince grow every Campaign worſe; eſpecially if they be compoſed of his own Subjects, who, being Slaves, are with great Difficulty and long Diſcipline made Soldiers, and ſcarce ever made good ones; and when his old Troops are gone, his new ones ſignify little. This was eminently ſhewn in the late War with *France*, which degenerated in Arms every Year; while the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* did as evidently mend. And doubtleſs, if the *French* Barrier of fortified Towns had been quite broken through, as it was very near, One Battle would have completed the Conqueſt of *France*, and perhaps it would not have coſt a Battle.

And

And if free States ſupport themſelves better in a War than an abſolute Prince, they do likewiſe much ſooner retrieve their Loſſes by it. The *Dutch*, when they had been beaten twice at Sea by *Cromwell*'s Admirals and *Engliſh* Seamen, with great Slaughter and Loſs of Ships, did notwithſtanding, in Two Months Time after the ſecond great Defeat, fit out a Third Fleet of a Hundred and Forty Men of War, under the famous *Van Trump*: Upon this Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that "there cannot be a greater Inſtance of the Opu-"lency of that People, than that they ſhould be "able, after ſo many Loſſes, and ſo late a great "Defeat, in ſo ſhort a Time, to ſet out a Fleet "ſtrong enough to viſit thoſe who had ſo lately "overcome them." This is what no Arbitrary Prince in *Europe*, or upon the Face of the Earth, could have done; nor do I believe, that all the Arbitrary Monarchs in *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, with all their united Powers together, could do it at this Day. The whole Strength of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy could not fit out their famous *Armada*, without the Aſſiſtance of Money from the little free State of *Genoa*; and that invincible *Armada*, being beaten by the *Engliſh*, and quite deſtroyed, *Spain* has never been able, with all her *Indies*, and her Mountains of Silver and Gold, to make any Figure at Sea ſince, nor been able to pay that very Money which equipped that its laſt great Fleet.

The little City of *Tyre* gave *Alexander the Great* more Reſiſtance, and coſt him more Labour to take it, than to conquer the great Monarchy of *Aſia*; and though, when with infinite Labour and Courage he had taken it, he burnt it to the Ground, ſlew Eight Thouſand *Tyrians* in the

the Sackage of their Town, crucified Two Thouſand more, and ſold all the reſt for Slaves; yet ſome of the Citizens, with their Wives and Children, having eſcaped to *Carthage*, (a Colony of their own) and others being conveyed away and ſaved by their Neighbours the *Sidonians* during the Siege, they returned and rebuilt their deſolated City; and in ſo ſmall a Time as Nineteen Years afterwards, endured another Siege of Fifteen Months from *Antigonus*, the moſt powerful of all *Alexander*'s Succeſſors; nor could he take it at laſt, but upon honourable Terms. What an Inſtance of the Bleſſings and Power of Liberty and Trade!

From the Moment that the *Romans* loſt their Liberty, their Spirit was gone, and their Valour ſcarce ever after appeared. In the Beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, the beſt and braveſt of them periſhed by the Sword, either in the Civil War, where, *Romans* fighting againſt *Romans*, Multitudes were ſlain, with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the laſt brave Men that ever drew a Sword for the Commonwealth, or in the bloody Proſcriptions that followed; in which all the excellent Men and Aſſertors of Liberty, who eſcaped the Battle, were gleaned up and murdered by Soldiers and Informers, and amongſt the reſt, the divine *Cicero*. Afterwards, when *Auguſtus* had got the World to himſelf, *Jura omnium in ſe traxit*; Flatterers were his only Favourites, and none were preferred to Magiſtracy, but the ſervile Creatures of his Power; Liberty was extinct, and its Spirit gone, and though there was a univerſal Peace, yet the Power of the Empire continually decayed. *Auguſtus* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this, that the Loſs

of

of two or three Legions under *Varus* in *Germany*, frightened him, and had almoſt broke his Heart; not from any Tenderneſs in it, for he had butchered Myriads, and enſlaved all; but he knew that now *Roman* Legions were hard to be got, and ſcarce worth getting. Having deſtroyed ſo many brave *Romans*, and made the reſt baſe by Slavery, and by the Corruptions which ſupport it, he knew the Difficulty of forming a *Roman* Army.

His Succeſſors were worſe; they went on in a perpetual Series of Slaughters, dreading and deſtroying every Thing that had the Appearance of Virtue or Goodneſs; and even ſo early as *Tiberius*'s Reign, That Emperor, ſays *Tacitus*, knew *magis Fama quam vi ſtare res ſuas*, that his Empire was ſupported more by the Reputation of *Roman* Greatneſs, than by the real Strength of the *Romans*, who grew every Day more and more weak and wretched; and though they had now and then a little Sun-ſhine in the Reign of a good Emperor, yet the Root of the Evil remained: They were no longer Freemen; and for far the moſt part, their Government was nothing elſe but a conſtant State of Oppreſſion, and a continued Succeſſion of Maſſacres. Tyrants governed them, and Soldiers created and governed the Tyrants, or butchered them if they would not be Butchers.

As to military Virtue, it was no more: The Prætorian Bands were only a Band of Hangmen with an Emperor at their Head; *Italy* and the Provinces were exhauſted; the *Roman* People were nothing but an idle and debauched Mob, that cared not who was uppermoſt, ſo they had but a little Victuals and ſaw Shews: The provincial

cial Armies were foreign Hirelings, and there was not a *Roman* Army in the *Roman* Empire. *Inops* Italia, *plebs urbana imbellis, nihil in exercitibus validum præter externum.* This was ſaid not long after the Death of *Auguſtus*; nor do I remember an Inſtance of one great *Roman* Captain after *Germanicus* and *Corbulo*; the firſt murdered by *Tiberius*, his Uncle and Father by Adoption; and the other by *Nero*, for whom he reconquered and ſettled the *Eaſt*; and after *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, every *Roman* Emperor of remarkable Bravery was a Foreigner, and every Victory gained by them, was gained by Foreigners; who, being all Mercenaries, were perpetually ſetting up and pulling down their own Monarchs. At length, being poſſeſſed of the whole Power of the Empire, they took it to themſelves; and thus it ended, and became diſmembered by ſeveral Nations, and into ſeveral Governments, according to their Fortune; and it is remarkable, that though thoſe Nations had frequent Wars amongſt themſelves about the Countries which they invaded, yet they had nothing to apprehend from the *Romans* while they were ſeizing *Roman* Provinces.

Tyrants are ſo ſenſible that when they have loſt their Army, they have loſt all, that amongſt their other deſtructive Expedients to preſerve themſelves, whatever becomes of their People, one of their Methods is, to lay whole Countries waſte, and to keep them waſte, to prevent an Invader from ſubſiſting; and their beſt Provinces are by this Means turned often into Wilderneſſes. For this Reaſon a March to *Conſtantinople* is ſcarce practicable to an Enemy from any Quarter.

I will

I will conclude with anſwering an Objection: It may be ſaid, that the Armies of Tyrants often fight bravely, and are brave; and I own it to be true in many Inſtances: But I deſire it may be remembered, that in Arbitrary Countries, nothing flouriſhes except the Court and the Army. A Tyrant muſt give his Spoilers Part of the Spoil, or elſe they will fight but faintly for it, or perhaps put him to Death if he do not. The moſt abſolute Princes muſt therefore uſe their Soldiers like Freemen, as they tender their own Power and their Lives; and under the greateſt Tyrants, the Men of War enjoy great Privileges, even greater than in Free States. The Privileges and Immunities which they enjoy, conſtitute a Sort of Liberty, dear to themſelves, but terrible always to the Subject, and often pernicious to the Prince: It being the certain Condition of a Tyrant, that to be able to oppreſs his People, or plague his Neighbours, he muſt empower his Soldiers to deſtroy himſelf.

The chief Forces therefore of an Arbitrary Prince, conſiſt of Freemen: Such were the Prætorian Bands of the *Roman* Emperors, and ſuch are the *Turkiſh* Janizaries; and both of them, though they maintained the Tyranny, have frequently killed the Tyrants; and ſuch are the Grand Seignior's *Zaims*, *Timariots*, or Horſemen, who have Lands given them in the Provinces, and are the only Nobility and Gentry there: And ſuch too were the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt*, which Country at laſt they uſurped for themſelves, having put the King their Maſter to Death. I might mention here the *Swiſs* Guards, and *Gens d'armes* of a neighbouring Prince, which are his Janizaries.

ries. As to the *Turkiſh* Janizaries, I own the Sultan may put particular Men of them to Death, but no Sultan dares touch their Privileges as a Body; and two or three of their greateſt Emperors were depoſed and deſtroyed by them for attempting it.

Mere Slaves can defend no Prince, nor enable him even to rule over Slaves: So that by giving Liberty, or rather Licentiouſneſs, to a few, the Slavery of All is maintained.

All this does, I think, fully prove, that where there is no Liberty, there can be no Magnanimity. It is true, Enthuſiaſm has inſpired Armies, and moſt remarkably of all the *Saracen* Armies, with amazing Reſolution and Fury; but even that was Fierceneſs for Liberty of Opinion to themſelves, and for ſubduing all Men to it; and beſides, this Courage of Enthuſiaſm is rarely eminent, except in the firſt Riſe of States and Empires.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 17, 1721. No. 66.

Arbitrary Government proved incompatible with true Religion, whether Natural or Revealed.

SIR,

I SHALL ſhew in this Paper, that neither the Chriſtian Religion, nor Natural Religion, nor any Thing elſe that ought to be called Religion, can ſubſiſt under Tyrannical Governments, now that Miracles are ceaſed. I readily confeſs, that ſuch

ſuch Governments are fertile in Superſtition, in wild Whimſies, deluſive Phantoms, and ridiculous Dreams, proper to terrify the human Soul, degrade its Dignity, deface its Beauty, and fetter it with ſlaviſh and unmanly Fears, to render it a proper Object of Fraud, Grimace, and Impoſition; and to make Mankind the ready Dupes of gloomy Impoſtors, and the tame Slaves of raging Tyrants. For, Servitude eſtabliſhed in the Mind, is beſt eſtabliſhed.

But all theſe bewildered Imaginations, theſe dark and dreadful Horrors, which baniſh Reaſon, and contract and imbitter the Heart, what have they to do with true Religion, unleſs to deſtroy it?——That Religion, which improves and enlarges the Faculties of Men, exalts their Spirits, and makes them brave for God and themſelves; that Religion, which gives them great and worthy Conceptions of the Deity; and that Religion, which inſpires them with generous and beneficent Affections to one another, and with univerſal Love and Benevolence to the whole Creation. No Man can love God, if he love not his Neighbour; and whoever loves his Neighbour, will neither injure, revile, nor oppreſs him: Nor can we otherwiſe ſhew our Love to God, than by kind, humane and affectionate Actions to his Creatures: *A new Commandment*, ſays our bleſſed Saviour, *I give unto you, that ye love one another.*

Almighty God, the great Author of our Nature, and of all Things, who has the Heavens for his Throne, and the Earth for his Footſtool, is raiſed far above the Reach of our Kindneſs, our Malice, or our Flattery. He derives infinite Happineſs from his own infinite Perfections; nor can

any frail Power or Actions of ours leſſen or improve it: Religion therefore, from which he can reap no Advantage, was inſtituted by him for the Sake of Men, as the beſt Means and the ſtrongeſt Motive to their own Happineſs, and mutual Happineſs; and by it Men are taught and animated to be uſeful, aſſiſting, forgiving, kind and merciful one to another. But to hurt, calumniate or hate one another, for his Sake, and in Defence of any Religion, is a flat Contradiction to *his* Religion, and an open Defiance of the Author of Religion: And to quarrel about Belief and Opinions, which do not immediately and neceſſarily produce practical Virtue and ſocial Duties, is equally wicked and abſurd. This is to be wicked in behalf of Righteouſneſs, and to be cruel out of Piety. A Religion which begets Selfiſhneſs and Partiality only to a few, and its own Followers, and which inſpires Hatred and Outrage toward all the reſt of the World, can never be the Religion of the merciful and impartial Maker and Judge of the World. Speculations are only ſo far a Part of Religion, as they produce the moral Duties of Religion, general Peace and unlimited Charity, publick Spirit, Equity, Forbearance, and good Deeds to all Men: And the Worſhip of God is no longer the Worſhip of God, than as it warms our Minds with the Remembrance of his gracious Condeſcenſions, his indulgent Care, Bounty, and Providence, exerciſed towards us; and as it raiſes and forms our Affections to an Imitation of ſuch his divine and unreſtrained Goodneſs, and to uſe one another kindly by his great Example, who uſes us all ſo. So that our worthy, tender, and beneficent Behaviour to one another, is the beſt

Way

Way to acknowledge his to us: It is the moſt acceptable Way that we can worſhip him, and the Way which he will beſt accept our Worſhip: And whatever Devotion has not this Effect, or a contrary Effect, is the dry or mad Freaks of an Enthuſiaſt, and ought to be called by another and a properer Name.

This is a general Idea of true Religion, theſe are the certain and only Marks of it: All which, as they are oppoſite to the Eſſence and Spirit of an Arbitrary Government; ſo every Arbitrary Government is an Enemy to the Spirit of true Religion, and defeats its Ends. In theſe Governments, in Defiance of Religion, Humanity, and common Senſe, Millions muſt be miſerable to exalt and embelliſh one or a few, and to make them proud, arrogant, and great: Protection and Security are no more; the Spirit of the People is ſunk, their Induſtry diſcouraged and loſt, or only employed to feed Luxury and Pride; and Multitudes ſtarve, that a few may riot and abound. All Love to Mankind is extinct, and Virtue and publick Spirit are dangerous or unknown; while Vice, Falſhood, and ſervile Sycophancy, become neceſſary to maintain precarious Safety and an ignominious Life: And, in fine, Men live upon the Spoils of one another, like ravenous Fiſhes and Beaſts of Prey: They become rapacious, brutiſh and ſavage to one another, as their cruel Governors are to them all; and as a farther Imitation of ſuch Maſters, their Souls are abject, mean, and villainous. To live upon Prey, and worry human Race, is the Genius and Support of Tyrants, as well as of Wolves and Tygers; and it is the Spirit and Practice of Men to reſemble their Go-

vernors, and to act like them. Virtue and Vice in Courts, run like Water in a continual Deſcent, and quickly overflow the inferior Soil.

Torva Leæna *lupum*, &c.

Now, what can be found here to anſwer the Spirit and Precepts of the Chriſtian Religion, which is all Love, Charity, Meekneſs, mutual Aſſiſtance, and mutual Indulgence; and muſt either deſtroy Tyranny, which deſtroys all theſe, or be deſtroyed by it? A Religion given by God to inſpire Men with every ſocial Virtue, and to furniſh them with every Argument for ſocial Happineſs, will never find Quarter, much leſs Protection, from a Government, which ſubſiſts by an unrelenting War againſt every Virtue, and all human Felicity. On the contrary, all its divine Doctrines ſhall be perverted, all its divine Principles mangled, and both its Principles and its Precepts corrupted, diſguiſed and wreſted, to be made free of the Court: Truth will be made to patronize Impoſture, and Meekneſs to ſupport Tyranny: Obedience to equal Laws, and Submiſſion to juſt Authority, ſhall be turned into a ſervile and crouching Subjection to blind Rage and inhumane Fury; complaiſant and reſpective Behaviour into ſlaviſh Flattery, and ſupple Homage to Power; Meekneſs and Humility, into Dejection, Poorneſs of Spirit, and bodily Proſtrations; Charity, Benevolence, and Humanity, into a fiery and outrageous Zeal to propagate faſhionable and gainful Opinions: Chriſtian Courage ſhall be changed into Cruelty and brutiſh Violence; impartial Juſtice into ſavage Severity; Protection into Oppreſſion and Plundering; the Fear of God into the Fear

Fear of Man; and the Worſhip of the Deity into an idolatrous Adoration of a Tyrant.

Though God Almighty ſent his only Son into the World to teach his Will to Men, and to confirm his Miſſion by Wonders and Miracles; yet, having once fully manifeſted himſelf and his Law, he has left it to be propagated and carried on by human Means only, according to the Holy Writings inſpired by him; and if the Powers of the World will not ſubmit to thoſe Directions, and will neither purſue them themſelves, nor ſuffer their Subjects to purſue them, nor leave them the Means of doing it; then the Chriſtian Religion muſt take the Fate of all ſublunary Things, and be loſt from amongſt Men, unleſs Heaven interpoſe again miraculouſly in its Favour. Now the Experience of all Ages will convince us, that all tyrannical Princes will be againſt the Religion, which is againſt them; and either aboliſh it, or, which is much worſe, pervert it into a deadly and unnatural Engine, to encreaſe and defend that Pride and Power, which Chriſtianity abhors; and to promote thoſe Evils and Miſeries, which Chriſtianity forbids, and, were it left to itſelf, would prevent or relieve. A Religion modelled by uſurped Power, to countenance Uſurpation and Oppreſſion, is as oppoſite to the Chriſtian Religion, as Tyranny is to Liberty, and Wickedneſs to Virtue. When Religion is taught to ſpeak Court-Language, and none are ſuffered to preach it, but ſuch as ſpeak the ſame Dialect; when thoſe who are Miniſters of the Goſpel, muſt be alſo the Miniſters of Ambition, and either ſanctify Falſhood and Violence, by the Word of Mercy and Truth, or hold their Tongues; when Preferments and

worldly Honours are on the Side of Impoſture, and Gallies, Racks, and Dungeons are the Rewards of Conſcience and Piety; the Good and Efficacy of Chriſtianity will be as effectually gone, as if it were formally exchanged for *Mahometaniſm*; and under thoſe Circumſtances, if its Name be retained, it is only retained to do Evil, and might be as innocently baniſhed with the Thing.

The Chriſtian Religion has as rarely gained by Courts, as Courts have improved by the Chriſtian Religion; and Arbitrary Courts have ſeldom meddled with it, but either to perſecute it, or debaſe and corrupt it; nor could the Power and Fury of Tyrants ever hurt or weaken it ſo much, as their pretended Favours and Countenance have done: By appearing for it, they turned their Power moſt effectually againſt it. Their avowed Perſecution of Chriſtianity, did only deſtroy Chriſtians; but afterwards, while they ſet up for protecting none but the true Chriſtians, that is, thoſe that were as bad as themſelves, and having no Religion of their own, adopted blindly the Religion of their Prince; and whilſt they were for puniſhing all who were not true Chriſtians, that is, all that were better than themſelves, and would take their Religion from no Man's Word, but only from the Word of God; they lifted Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, and diſfigured, undermined and baniſhed Chriſtianity itſelf, by falſe Friendſhip to its Profeſſors: And theſe Profeſſors thus corrupted, joining a holy Title to an impious Cauſe, concurred in the Conſpiracy, and contended fiercely in the Name of Chriſt for ſecular Advantages, which Chriſt never gave nor took, and for a ſecular Sovereignty, which he rejected,

and

and his Goſpel forbids. Thus one ſort of Tyranny was artfully made to ſupport another, and both by a Union of Intereſts maintained a War againſt Religion, under Colour of defending it, and fought the Author of it under his own Banner; that is, as Dr. *Tillotſon* finely ſays, *They lied for the Truth, and killed for God's Sake.*

The many various and contradictory Opinions of weak Enthuſiaſts, or of deſigning Men, and all the different and repugnant Interpretations of Scripture, publiſhed and contended for by them, could have done but ſmall Prejudice to Religion and Society, if human Authority had not interpoſed with its Penalties and Rewards annexed to the believing or not believing fortuitous Speculations, uſeleſs Notions, dry Idea's, and the inconſiſtent Reveries of diſordered Brains; or the ſelfiſh Inventions of uſurping Popes, ambitious Synods, and turbulent and aſpiring Doctors, or the crafty Schemes of diſcontented or oppreſſive Stateſmen: For all theſe have been the important Cauſes, and the wicked Fuel of religious Wars and Perſecutions.

It is ſo much the general Intereſt of Society to perform and to encourage all its Members to perform the practical Duties of Religion, that if a ſtronger and more prevailing Intereſt were not thrown by Power into the contrary Scale, there would be no Difference amongſt Men about the Nature and Extent of their Duties to Magiſtrates, to Parents, Children, and to Friends and Neighbours: And if theſe ſocial Duties (the only Duties which human Society, as ſuch, is concerned to promote) were agreed upon and practiſed, the Magiſtrate would have no more to do with their

Opinions than with their Shape and Complexion; nor could he know, if he would, by what Method to alter them. No Man's Belief is in his own Power, or can be in the Power of another.

The utmoſt Length that the Power of the Magiſtrate can in this Matter extend, beyond that of Exhortation, which is in every Man's Power, can be only to make Hypocrites, Slaves, Fools, or Atheiſts. When he has forced his Subjects to bely their Conſciences, or to act againſt them, he has in effect driven them out of all Religion, to bring them into his own; and when they thus ſee and feel the profeſſed Defender of Religion overturning all its Precepts, exhorting by Bribes, rebuking by Stripes, Confiſcations, and Dungeons, and making Chriſtianity the Inſtrument of Fury, Ambition, Rapine, and Tyranny; what can they think, but either that he is no Chriſtian, or that Chriſtianity is not true? If they come to ſuſpect it of Impoſture, they grow Infidels; if they grow into a Belief that Religion countenances Bitterneſs, Outrage, and Severities, nay, commands all theſe, they become Bigots; the worſt and moſt miſchievous Character of the Two: For, Unbelievers, guided by the Rules of Prudence or Good-nature, may be good Neighbours and inoffenſive Men; but Bigotry, ſtanding upon the Ruins of Reaſon, and being conducted by no Light but that of an inflamed Imagination, and a ſour, bitter, and narrow Spirit, there is no Violence nor Barbarity which it is not capable of wiſhing or acting.

Happineſs is the chief End of Man, and the ſaving of his Soul is his chief Happineſs; ſo that every Man is moſt concerned for his own Soul,

and

and more than any other can be: And if no Obſtruction be thrown in his Way, he will for the moſt part do all in his Power for his own Salvation, and will certainly do it beſt; and when he has done all that he can, he has done all that he ought: People cannot be ſaved by Force; nor can all the Powers in the World together make one true Chriſtian, or convince one Man. Conviction is the Province and Effect of Reaſon; when that fails, nothing but the Grace of God can ſupply it: And what has the Power and Penalties of Men to do either with Reaſon or Grace; which being both the Gifts of God, are not to be conquered by Chains, though they may be weakened, and even baniſhed by worldly Allurements blended with Chriſtianity, and by the worldly Pride of its Profeſſors?

The Methods of Power are repugnant to the Nature of Conviction, which muſt either be promoted by Exhortation, Kindneſs, Example, and Arguments, or can never be promoted at all: Violence does, on the contrary but provoke Men, and confirm them in Error; nor will they ever be brought to believe, that thoſe who barbarouſly rob them of their preſent Happineſs, can be charitably concerned for their future.

It is evident in Fact, that moſt of the different religious Inſtitutions now ſubſiſting in the World, have been founded upon Ambition and Pride, and were advanced, propagated, and eſtabliſhed, by Uſurpation, Faction, and Oppreſſion: They were begun for the moſt part by Enthuſiaſts, or by deſigning and unpreferred Churchmen; or at leaſt occaſioned by the continued Uſurpations and Inſults of cruel and oppreſſive ones, and always in

Times

Times of Faction and general Diſcontent. Turbulent and aſpiring Men, diſcarded and diſcontented Courtiers, or ambitious and deſigning Stateſmen, have taken Advantage from theſe general Diſorders, or from the hot and giddy Spirits of an enthuſiaſtical or oppreſſed People; and from thence have formed Parties, and ſetting themſelves at the Head, formed National Eſtabliſhments, with the Concurrence of weak Princes, ſometimes in Oppoſition to them, by the Aſſiſtance of factious Clergymen and factious Aſſemblies, often by Tumults and popular Inſurrections; and at laſt, under Pretence of ſaving Men's Souls, they ſeized their Property. A ſmall Acquaintance with Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and the Hiſtory of the *Turks* and *Saracens*, will ſhew ſuch Cauſes as theſe to have given Riſe to moſt of the National Religious Eſtabliſhments upon Earth: Nor can I ſee how any future Ones can ariſe by other Means, whilſt Violence and worldly Intereſt have any thing to do with them.

Such therefore as is the Government of a Country, ſuch will be made its Religion; and Nobody, I hope, is now to learn what is, and ever will be, the Religion of moſt Stateſmen; even a Religion of Power, to do as little Good, and as much Miſchief as they pleaſe. Nor have Churchmen, when they ruled States, had ever any other View; but having double Authority, had generally double Inſolence, and remarkably leſs Mercy and Regard to Conſcience or Property, than others who had fewer Ties to be merciful and juſt: And therefore the foreſt Tyrants have been they, who united in one Perſon the Royalty and Prieſthood. The Pope's Yoke is more grievous,

than

than that of any Chriſtian Prince upon Earth; nor is there a Trace of Property, or Felicity, or of the Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, found in the Dominions of this Father of *Chriſtendom*; all is Ignorance, Bigotry, Idolatry, Barbarity, Hunger, Chains, and every Species of Miſery. The *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, who founded the *Saracen* Empire there, and maintained it for a great while, were at once Kings and Prieſts; and there never lived more raging Bigots, or more furious and oppreſſive Barbarians. The Monarchy of *Perſia*, which is alſo a ſevere Tyranny, has the Prieſthood annexed to it; and the *Sophy* is at the ſame time the *Caliph*. The *Turkiſh* Religion is founded on Impoſture, blended with outragious and avowed Violence; and by their Religion, the Imperial Executioner is, next to their *Alcoran*, the moſt ſacred Thing amongſt them: And though he be not himſelf Chief Prieſt, yet he creates and uncreates him at Pleaſure, and is, without the Name of *Mufti*, the chief Doctor, or rather Author of their Religion; and we all know what ſort of a Religion it is.

In Fact, as Arbitrary Princes want a Religion ſuited to the Genius of their Power, they model their Religion ſo as to ſerve all the Purpoſes of Tyranny, and debaſe, corrupt, diſcourage, or perſecute all Religion which is againſt Tyranny, as all true Religion is: For this Reaſon, not one of the great Abſolute Princes in *Europe* embraced the *Reformation*, nor would ſuffer his People to embrace it, but they were all bitter and profeſſed Enemies to it: Whereas all the great free States, except *Poland*, and moſt of the ſmall free States, became *Proteſtants*. Thus the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, the *Dutch*,

Dutch, the *Bohemians*, and *Sweden* and *Denmark*, (which were then free Kingdoms) the greateſt Part of *Switzerland*, with *Geneva*, and all the *Hans-Towns*, which were not awed by the Emperor, threw off the *Popiſh* Yoke: And not one of the free *Popiſh* States, out of *Italy*, could be ever brought to receive the *Inquiſition*; and the State of *Venice*, the greateſt free State there, to ſhew that they received it againſt their Will, have taken wiſe Care to render it ineffectual: And many of the *Popiſh* free States would never come into Perſecution, which they knew would impoveriſh and diſpeople them; and therefore the States of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, and *Catalonia*, oppoſed, as much as they were able, the Expulſion of the *Moors*, which was a pure Act of Regal Power, to the undoing of *Spain*, and therefore a deſtructive and barbarous Act of Tyranny. As to the *Proteſtant* Countries, which have ſince loſt their Liberties, there is much miſerable Ignorance, and much bitter and implacable Bigotry, but little Religion, and no Charity amongſt them.

We look upon *Montezuma*, and other Tyrants, who worſhipped God with human Sacrifice, as ſo many Monſters, and hug ourſelves that we have no ſuch Sons of *Moloch* here in *Europe*; not conſidering, that every Man put to Death for his Religion, by the *Inquiſition* and elſewhere, is a real human Sacrifice, as it is burning and butchering Men for God's Sake.

I think No-body will deny, but that in King *James*'s Time, we owed the Preſervation of our Religion to our Liberties, which both our Clergy and People almoſt unanimouſly concurred to defend, with a Reſolution and Boldneſs worthy of *Britons*

Britons and Freemen. And as the Cauſe and Bleſſings of Liberty are ſtill better underſtood, its Spirit and Intereſt daily increaſe. Moſt of the Biſhops, and many of the inferior Clergy, are profeſſedly in the Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, notwithſtanding the ſtrong and early Prejudices of Education. And I hope ſoon to ſee them all as thorough Advocates for publick Liberty, as their Predeceſſors were, upon Grounds leſs juſt, in the Times of *Popery*; and then there will be an End of the pernicious and knaviſh Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory*; and all the World will unite in paying them that Reſpect which is due to their holy Office.

I ſhall conclude with this ſhort Application, That as we love Religion, and the Author of it, we ought to love and preſerve our Liberties.

G

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, *February* 24, 1721. No. 67.

Arts and Sciences the Effects of Civil Liberty only, and ever deſtroyed or oppreſſed by Tyranny.

SIR,

HAVING already ſhewn, that Naval Trade and Power cannot ſubſiſt but in free Countries alone, I will now ſhew, that the ſame is true of domeſtick Arts and Sciences; and that both theſe, and Population, which is their conſtant Concomitant, and their chief Cauſe as well as their certain Effect, are born of Liberty, and nurſed,

nurſed, educated, encouraged, and endowed, by Liberty alone.

Men will not ſpontaneouſly toil and labour but for their own Advantage, for their Pleaſure or their Profit, and to obtain ſomething which they want or deſire, and which, for the moſt part, is not to be obtained but by Force or Conſent. Force is often dangerous; and when employed to acquire what is not ours, it is always unjuſt; and therefore Men, to procure from others what they had not before, muſt gain their Conſent; which is not to be gained, but by giving them in lieu of the Thing deſired, ſomething which they want and value more than what they part with. This is what we call Trade; which is the Exchange of one Commodity for another, or for that which purchaſes all Commodities, Silver and Gold.

Men, in their firſt State, content themſelves with the ſpontaneous Productions of Nature, the Fruits of the Field and the liquid Stream, and ſuch occaſional Supplies as they now and then receive from the Deſtruction of other Animals. But when thoſe Supplies become inſufficient to ſupport their Numbers, their next Reſource is to open the Boſom of the Earth, and by proper Application and Culture, to extort her hidden Stores: And thus were invented Tillage and Planting. And an Hundred Men thus employed, can fetch from the Bowels of our common Mother, Food and Suſtenance enough for Ten Times their own Number; and one Tenth part more may poſſibly be able to ſupply all the Inſtruments of Husbandry, and whatever is barely neceſſary to ſupport theſe Husbandmen: So that all the reſt of the People muſt rob or ſtarve, unleſs either the Proprietors of the

the Land will give them the Produce of their Eſtates for nothing, or they can find ſomething wherewithal to purchaſe it.

Now in Countries where no other Arts are in Uſe, but only Husbandry and the Profeſſions neceſſary to it, and to ſupport thoſe who are employed about it; all the other Inhabitants have no Means of purchaſing Food and Raiment, but by ſelling their Perſons, and becoming vile Slaves and Vaſſals to their Princes, Lords, or other Proprietors of the Land; and are obliged, for neceſſary Suſtenance, to follow them in their wild Wars, and their perſonal and factious Quarrels, and to become the baſe Inſtruments of their Ambition and Pride. Great Men will rather throw their Eſtates into Foreſts and Chaſes, for the Support of wild Beaſts, and for their own Pleaſure in hunting them, than into Farms, Gardens, and fruitful Fields, if they can get nothing from the Productions of them.

This is the forlorn Condition of Mankind, in moſt of the wild Empires of the *Eaſt*; this was their Condition in all the *Gothick* Governments; and this is the Condition of *Poland* and of the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; where a few have Liberty, and all the reſt are Slaves. And nothing can free Mankind from this abject and forlorn Condition, but the Invention of Arts and Sciences; that is, the finding out of more Materials and Expedients to make Life eaſy and pleaſant; and the inducing People to believe, what they will readily believe, that other Things are neceſſary to their Happineſs, beſides thoſe which Nature has made neceſſary. Thus the Luxury of the Rich becomes the Bread of the Poor.

As

As ſoon as Men are freed from the Importunities of Hunger and Cold, the Thoughts and Deſire of Conveniency, Plenty, Ornament, and Politeneſs, do preſently ſucceed: And then follow after, in very quick Progreſſion, Emulation, Ambition, Profuſion, and the Love of Power: And all theſe, under proper Regulations, contribute to the Happineſs, Wealth, and Security of Societies. It is natural to Men and Societies, to be ſetting their Wits and their Hands to work, to find out all Means to ſatisfy their Wants and Deſires, and to enable them to live in Credit and Comfort, and to make ſuitable Proviſion that their Poſterity may live ſo after them.

Neceſſity is the Mother of Invention, and ſo is the Opinion of Neceſſity. Whilſt Things are in their own Nature neceſſary to us, or, from Cuſtom and Fancy, made neceſſary; we will be turning every Thought, and trying every Method, how to come at them; and where they cannot be got by Violence and Rapine, Recourſe will be had to Invention and Induſtry. And here is the Source of Arts and Sciences; which alone can ſupport Multitudes of People, who will never be wanting to the Means which bring them Support.

Wherever there is Employment for People, there will be People; and People, in moſt Countries, are forced, for want of other Employment, to cut the Throats of one another, or of their Neighbours; and to ramble after their Princes in all their mad Conqueſts, ridiculous Contentions, and other miſchievous Maggots; and all to get, with great Labour, Hazard, and often with great Hunger

Hunger and Slaughter, a poor, precarious, and momentary Subſiſtence.

And therefore, whatever State gives more Encouragement to its Subjects, than the neighbouring States do, and finds them more Work, and gives them greater Rewards for that Work; and by all theſe laudable Ways makes human Condition eaſier than it is elſewhere, and ſecures Life and Property better; that State will draw the Inhabitants from the neighbouring Countries to its own; and when they are there, they will, by being richer and ſafer, multiply faſter. Men will naturally fly from Danger to Security, from Poverty to Plenty, and from a Life of Miſery to a Life of Felicity.

And as there will be always Induſtry whereever there is Protection; ſo wherever there is Induſtry and Labour, there will be the Silver, the Gold, the Jewels, the Power, and the Empire. It does not import who they are that have conquered, or inhabit the Countries where Silver and Gold are Natives, or who they are that toil for them in the Mine, ſince they will be the Poſſeſſors of the Coin, who can purchaſe it afterwards with the Goods and Manufactures which the Proprietors of the Mine and their People want. One Artificer in *England*, or *Holland*, can make Manufacture enough in a Week to buy as much Silver and Gold at the Mine, as a Labourer there can dig and prepare in a Month, or perhaps Two; and all the while that *Spain* and *Portugal* leſſen their Inhabitants, we encreaſe ours: They loſe their People by ſending them away to dig in the Mines; and we, by making the Manufactures which they want, and the Inſtruments which they uſe, multiply ours. By this Means every

Man

Man that they ſend out of their Country, is a Loſs to it, becauſe the Return and Produce of their Labour goes to enrich rival Nations; whereas every Man that we ſend to our Plantations, adds to the Number of our Inhabitants here at Home, by maintaining ſo many of them employed in ſo many Manufactures which they take off there; beſides ſo many Artificers in Shipping, and all the numerous Traders and Agents concerned in managing and venting the Produce of the Plantations, when it is brought hither, and in bringing it hither: So that the *Engliſh* Planters in *America*, beſides maintaining themſelves and Ten times as many *Negroes*, maintain likewiſe great Numbers of their Countrymen in *England*.

Such are the Bleſſings of Liberty, and ſuch is the Difference which it makes between Country and Country! The *Spaniſh* Nation loſt much more by the Loſs of their Liberties, followed with the Expulſion of the *Moors*, than ever they got by the Gold and Silver Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru*, or could get by all the Mines of Gold, Silver, and Diamonds upon Earth.

Where there is Liberty, there are Encouragements to Labour, becauſe People labour for themſelves; and no one can take from them the Acquiſitions which they make by their Labour: There will be the greateſt Numbers of People, becauſe they find Employment and Protection; there will be the greateſt Stocks, becauſe moſt is to be got, and eaſieſt to be got, and ſafeſt when it is got; and thoſe Stocks will be always encreaſing by a new Acceſſion of Money acquired elſewhere, where there is no Security of enjoying it; there People will be able to work cheapeſt, becauſe leſs

Taxes

Taxes will be put upon their Work, and upon the Neceſſaries which muſt ſupport them whilſt they are about it: There People will dare to own their being rich; there will be moſt People bred up to Trade, and Trade and Traders will be moſt reſpected; and there the Intereſt of Money will be lower, and the Security of poſſeſſing it greater, than it ever can be in Tyrannical Governments, where Life and Property, and all Things muſt depend upon the Humour of a Prince, the Caprice of a Miniſter, or the Demand of a Harlot. Under thoſe Governments, few People can have Money, and they that have muſt lock it up, or bury it to keep it, and dare not engage in large Deſigns, when the Advantages may be reaped by their rapacious Governors, or given up by them in a ſenſeleſs and wicked Treaty: Beſides, ſuch Governors contemn Trade and Artificers; and only Men of the Sword, who have an Intereſt incompatible with Trade, are encouraged by them.

For theſe Reaſons, Trade cannot be carried on ſo cheap as in free Countries; and whoever ſupplies the Commodity cheapeſt, will command the Market. In free Countries, Men bring out their Money for their Uſe, Pleaſure, and Profit, and think of all Ways to employ it for their Intereſt and Advantage. New Projects are every Day invented, new Trades ſearched after, new Manufactures ſet up; and when Tradeſmen have nothing to fear but from thoſe whom they truſt, Credit will run high, and they will venture in Trade for many times as much as they are worth: But in Arbitrary Countries, Men in Trade are every Moment liable to be undone, without the Guilt

Guilt of Sea or Wind, without the Folly or Treachery of their Correſpondents, or their own want of Care or Induſtry; their Wealth ſhall be their Snare, and their Abilities, Vigilance, and their Succeſs ſhall either be their undoing, or nothing to their Advantage: Nor can they truſt any one elſe, or any one elſe them, when Payment and Performance muſt depend upon the Honeſty and Wiſdom of thoſe who often have none.

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Ignorance of Arts and Sciences, and of every Thing that is good, together with Poverty, Miſery, and Deſolation, are found for the moſt part all together, and are all certainly produced by Tyranny. In all the great Empires of *Morocco*, *Abyſſinia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, there is not amongſt the Natives ſuch a Thing as a tolerable Architect; nor one good Building, unleſs we except a Palace built by a *Portugueze* for the *Abyſſinian* Emperor; and perhaps there may be in all theſe vaſt Continents, a few more good Houſes built by *Europeans*. The *Æthiopians* have ſcarce ſuch a Thing as an Artificer among them; their only Weavers are the *Jews*, who are likewiſe their Smiths, whoſe higheſt Employment in Iron is to make Heads for their Spears; and for Artiſts of their own, their wretched Trumpeters and Horn-winders ſeem to be the higheſt. When the *Jeſuits* built a few Churches and Chappels in their Country, the whole Nation were alarmed, taking them for ſo many Caſtles and Fortreſſes. The reſt of their Condition is of a-piece; they are abjectly miſerable, in ſpight of their Soil, which in many Places is luxuriant, and yields Three Crops a Year: Of ſuch ſmall Effect are the Gifts of God to his Creatures,

Creatures, when the Breath of a Tyrant can blaſt them!

In *Perſia*, the Carpenters and Joyners have but four Tools for all their Work, and we may gueſs what ſort of Work they make; they have a Hatchet, a Sawe, and a Chizzel, and one ſort of Plainer, brought thither not long ſince by a *Frenchman*. As to Printing, they have none; nor any Paper but coarſe brown Stuff, which cannot be folded without breaking to Pieces. In Painting, they do not go beyond Birds and Flowers, and are utterly ignorant of Figures and Hiſtory.

Egypt was once the Mother of Arts and Sciences, and from thence *Greece* had them: But *Egypt* loſing its Liberties, loſt with them all Politeneſs, as all Nations do; and the Pyramids were built by the firſt *Egyptian* Tyrants, while the Knowledge of Arts was not yet loſt in Barbariſm, and before the Country was diſpeopled, elſe they never had been built. Nor could all the Power of the *Ottoman* Empire build ſuch in the Place now, though the *Turks* were not Savages in the Sciences, as they are. "Till the Time "of *Ramphſinitus*, ſays *Herodotus*, the *Egyptians* "report, that Liberty flouriſhed, and the Laws "were the higheſt Power." Then he tells us, that *Cheops*, the Succeſſor of that King, falling into all Debauchery and Tyranny, employed a hundred thouſand of his People in drawing of Stone; *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, three hundred and ſixty thouſand were employed in this inhuman Drudgery —— and then he began a Pyramid. The *Egyptians* grew afterwards in Ignorance, Barbarity, and Vileneſs, and almoſt any Body that invaded them, maſtered them; and when they

they were defended, the free *Greeks* defended them, a Band of them being generally entertained for that End by the *Egyptian* Kings. It is true, one or two of the *Ptolomies*, particularly the Firſt, attempted to revive Arts and Learning amongſt them; but the Attempt came to nothing: They were Slaves, incapable either of taſting or producing the Embelliſhments and Excellencies of Liberty, of which they had been long deprived; and therefore the *Greek* Artiſts, and the *Greek* Profeſſors in *Egypt*, had the Glory of every Improvement to themſelves, as indeed they were the Authors of all. The *Romans* afterwards left there many Monuments of their Grandeur and Politeneſs: But when their free Government ended, as Tyranny ſucceeded, ſo did Barbarity, all over the Empire, and no where more than in *Egypt*, which is at this Day the Prey of robbing and thieving *Arabs*, and of oppreſſive and devouring *Turks*.

I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſummary Account given us by that judicious Traveller Monſieur *Bernier*, concerning the Condition of the Three great Eaſtern Empires, beſt known to us. It is in his laſt Chapter of *The Hiſtory of the Great Mogul*.

There is, ſays he, almoſt no Perſon ſecure from the Violence of the Governors, *Timariots*, and Farmers of the Royal Rents; nor can the Princes, though they were diſpoſed, hinder theſe Violences, nor prevent the Tyranny of their Servants over their People; which ſhould be the chief Employment of a King. This Tyranny is often ſo extenſive, that it leaves to the Peaſant and Tradeſman neither Food nor Raiment, but robs them of the common Neceſſaries of Life, and they live in Miſery, and die with Hunger: They

They either beget no Children; or if they do, ſee them periſh in their Infancy, for want of Food: Sometimes they deſert their Hutts and Land, to become Lacqueys to the Soldiers, or fly to Neighbouring Nations (*where their Condition is not mended.*) In ſhort, the Land is not tilled but by Force, and therefore wretchedly tilled; and great Part of it lies waſte and is loſt: There is no Body to clear the Ditches and Water-Courſes; no Body to build Houſes, or to repair thoſe that are ruinous. The *Timariot* will not improve the Ground for his Succeſſor, not knowing how ſoon he may come; nor will the Peaſant work for a Tyrant, and ſtarve while he does it: And neither *Timariot* nor Peaſant will labour for Bread which others are to eat. So the Peaſant is left to ſtarve, and the Land to become a Deſart.

Hence it is, that we ſee thoſe vaſt States in *Aſia* run and running to wretched Ruin: Moſt of their Towns are raiſed with Dirt and Earth; and you ſee nothing but ruinous Towns, and deſerted Villages: And hence it is, that thoſe celebrated Regions of *Meſopotamia*, *Anatolia*, *Paleſtine*, with thoſe admirable Plains of *Antioch*, and ſo many other Countries, anciently ſo well manured, ſo fertile, and ſo full of People, are all at preſent half deſerted, abandoned, and untilled, or become peſtilent and uninhabitable Bogs. *Egypt* is in the like Condition; and within theſe fourſcore Years, above the tenth Part of its incomparable Soil is loſt by Poverty, and want of Hands to ſcour the Channels of the *Nile*, and remove the Sand which covers their Fields.

From the ſame Cauſes, Arts languiſh and ſtarve in thoſe Countries: For with what Heart can an

Artizan labour and ſtudy for ignorant Beggars, who are not Judges of his Work, and cannot pay him for it, or for Grandees who will not? He is ſo far from any Proſpect of Reward, that he is not only without all Hopes of Wealth, Office, or Lands; but, to avoid being thought rich, muſt live poorly: He muſt never eat a good Meal, never wear a decent Coat, never appear to be worth Sixpence. Nay, he is happy if he can eſcape the *Korrah*; a terrible Whip exerciſed by the great Lords upon the Artiſts; proper Encouragement of Ingenuity!

Indeed, the Knowledge and Beauty of Arts had been loſt in thoſe Countries long ſince, were it not that the Kings and Grandees give Wages to certain Handicraftſmen, who work in their Houſes, and to eſcape the Whip, do their beſt: Beſides, the rich Merchants, who ſhare their Gains with Men in Power, to be protected by them, give theſe Handicraftſmen a little more Pay, and but a little. We muſt not therefore think, upon ſeeing rich Eaſtern Stuffs here, that the Workman there is in any Condition or Eſteem: He works not for himſelf: Only Neceſſity and the Cudgel makes him work; and let him work how he will, he is doomed to live miſerably, to cloath himſelf meanly, to eat poorly.

Traffick alſo in thoſe Countries, is faint and decaying: For how many are there that care to take much Pains, to make dangerous Voyages, and take long Journies; to be conſtantly running up and down; to write much, to live in perpetual Anxiety and Care, and to riſque all Hazards and Chances; and all for a precarious Gain, which

which is at the Mercy of the next greedy Governor?

This whole Chapter of *Bernier* deſerves every Man's reading: I have only room to add Part of another Paragraph. Talking of the *Turkiſh* Empire: We have travelled, *ſays he*, through almoſt all the Parts of it; we have ſeen how wofully it is ruined and diſpeopled; and how in the Capital City, the raiſing of five or ſix thouſand Men, requires three whole Months: And we know what a Fall it muſt have had before now, had it not been for the Supplies of Chriſtian Slaves and Captives brought thither every Year, from all Parts. Without doubt, if the ſame Sort of Government continue, that State will deſtroy itſelf: It is at this Day maintained by its own Weakneſs, and muſt at laſt fall by it. The Governors are frequently changed to make Room for new Oppreſſors; but neither has any one Governor, or one Subject in the whole Empire, a Penny that he can call his own, to maintain the leaſt Party; nor, if he had Money, are there any Men to be had in theſe wide deſolate Provinces. A bleſſed Expedient this, to make a State ſubſiſt! An Expedient, much like that of a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who, to prevent Sedition, commanded that no Land ſhould be tilled for ſome Years together; and having thus deſtroyed half the Kingdom with Hunger, he turned it into Forreſts: Which Method, however, did not anſwer his End, nor prevent Diviſions in that State, which was reduced ſo low, that a Handful of *Chineſe* Fugitives were like to have taken and maſtered the Capital City, *Ava*.

Thus far *Bernier*. Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, that it is a reigning Maxim in the *Turkiſh* Policy, to

lay a great Part of their Empire waſte. —— A Maxim, which they need take no Pains to practiſe; ſince without deſtroying deliberately their People and Provinces, which yet they do, the dreadful Spirit of their Government creates Deſolation faſt enough in all Conſcience.

The whole City of *Dihli*, the Capital of *India*, is obliged to follow the Great Mogul their Emperor, when he takes a Journey, their whole Dependence being upon the Court and the Soldiery; for they cannot ſupport themſelves; nor is the Country round them, which is either waſte, or its Inhabitants ſtarving, able to ſupport them. So that the Citizens of this mighty Metropolis, are only the wretched Suttlers to a Camp: They are forced to leave their Houſes empty, and ſtroll after their Monarch, whenever he is graciouſly diſpoſed to take a Jaunt; and are abſent ſometimes from home a Year and a half together.

The Jeſuit, *Nicholas Pimenta*, who was in *Pegu*, about an hundred and twenty Years ago, gives this Account of it: The laſt King, *ſays he*, was a mighty King, and could bring into the Field a Million and ſixty thouſand Men, taking one out of ten: But his Son had, by his Wars, his Oppreſſions, his Murders, and other Cruelties, made ſuch quick Diſpatch of his Subjects, that all that were left did not exceed ſeven Thouſand, including Men, Women, and Children. What an affecting Inſtance is here of the Peſtilential Nature of Tyranny!

It is not unlikely that ſome of theſe fatal Wars were made by this inhuman Prince, for White Elephants; and that he either made or provoked Invaſions upon that Score, as I have inſtanced in another

another Paper: And I ſhall here add ſomething to make this Conjecture ſtill more probable. Mr. *Ralph Fitch*, a Merchant of *London*, was at *Pegu* thirteen or fourteen Years before *Pimenta*, in the Reign of the above potent King; and he ſays, "Such is the Eſteem that this King has for an "Elephant of this Colour, that amongſt his other "Titles, he is called *King of the White Elephant*; "a Title, which to him ſeems as lofty as any of "the reſt. And that no other Prince round a-"bout him may wear this glorious Title, there-"fore none of them muſt keep a White Ele-"phant, though Nature gave it them; but muſt "ſend it to him, or an Army ſhall fetch it; for "rather than not have it, he will make War "for it."

He ſays, that the Houſes of theſe Creatures are ſplendidly gilt, and ſo are the Silver Veſſels out of which they are fed. When they go to the River to be waſhed, which they do every Day, ſix or ſeven Men bear up a Canopy of Cloth of Gold or Silk over them; and as many more march with Drums and muſical Inſtruments before them; and when they come out of the Water, their Feet are waſhed in great Silver Baſons by Perſons of Quality, whoſe Office it is thus to ſerve them. *Bernier* ſays, the Great Mogul allows fixed Penſions (ſometimes very large ones) to every Elephant, with proper Attendance; nay, two Men are employed in the ſultry Months, to ſtand, one on each Side, to fan them.

I only mention this, to ſhew how much more Care theſe Tyrants take of their Beaſts, than of their People. And it is too true of all Arbitrary

Princes; their Stable of Horſes is dearer to them than their Subjects, and live infinitely better.

This is almoſt univerſally true wherever there are ſuch. Nay, they value their Dogs more than they do the Lives of Men. When the Grand Seignior goes a Hunting, a great Number of Peaſants muſt encloſe the Ground for ſeveral Leagues round, and keep in the Game; this they muſt often do for many Days together, ſometimes in Ice and Snow, with hungry Bellies. By which Means their Work is neglected, their Grounds are deſtroyed, and they themſelves are many times killed in the Sport, or ſtarved in attending it; and it often happens, that forty or fifty of his own Followers periſh in a Day. *Sultan Mahomet*'s grand Falconer had once the Honeſty and Boldneſs to repreſent to his Maſter all this Deſtruction and Carnage which attended his endleſs Paſſion for Hunting; but all the Anſwer which he received from this Father of the Faithful, was, *By all Means take Care of the Dogs, let them have Cloathing and other Accommodations.*

This Paper upon Arts and Population grows too long: I ſhall therefore reſerve to another what I have to ſay further upon this Subject.

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SATUR-

SATURDAY, *March* 3, 1721. No. 68.

Property and Commerce ſecure in a free Government, only; with the conſuming Miſeries under ſimple Monarchies.

SIR,

I HERE ſend you what I have to ſay further upon Arts, Induſtry, and Population. To live ſecurely, happily, and independently, is the End and Effect of Liberty; and it is the Ambition of all Men to live agreeably to their own Humours and Diſcretion. Nor did ever any Man that could live ſatisfactorily without a Maſter, deſire to live under one; and real or fancied Neceſſity alone makes Men the Servants, Followers, and Creatures of one another. And therefore all Men are animated by the Paſſion of acquiring and defending Property, becauſe Property is the beſt Support of that Independency, ſo paſſionately deſired by all Men. Even Men the moſt dependent have it conſtantly in their Heads and their Wiſhes, to become independent one Time or other; and the Property which they are acquiring, or mean to acquire by that Dependency, is intended to bring them out of it, and to procure them an agreeable Independency. And as Happineſs is the Effect of Independency, and Independency the Effect of Property, ſo certain Property is the Effect of Liberty alone, and can only be ſecured by the Laws of Liberty; Laws which are made by Conſent, and cannot be repealed without it.

All theſe Bleſſings, therefore, are only the Gifts and Conſequences of Liberty, and only to be found in free Countries; where Power is fixed on one Side, and Property ſecured on the other; where the one cannot break Bounds without Check, Penalties, or Forfeiture, nor the other ſuffer Diminution without Redreſs; where the People have no Maſters but the Laws, and ſuch as the Laws appoint; where both Laws and Magiſtracy are formed by the People or their Deputies, and no Demands are made upon them, but what are made by the Law; and they know to a Penny, what to pay before it is asked; where they that exact from them more than the Law allows, are puniſhable by the Law; and where the Legiſlators are equally bound by their own Acts, equally involved in the Conſequences.

There can be no Good, where there are none of the Cauſes of Good; and conſequently all the Advantages of Liberty muſt be loſt with Liberty, and all the Evils of Tyranny muſt accompany Tyranny. I have in my laſt taken a View of the *Eaſtern* Monarchies, with Regard to the miſerable Decay of their People and Arts; I ſhall in this confine myſelf, for Inſtances, to *Europe*, and begin with *Muſcovy*, by far the greateſt Empire for Territory in *Chriſtendom*: And becauſe the beſt ſhort Account that I have ſeen of that Government, is given by *Giles Fletcher*, who was there in the latter End of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time, I ſhall here recite Part of that Account.

Talking of the many wicked and barbarous Arts uſed by the late *Czars* of *Ruſſia*, to drain and oppreſs their People, he ſays: "They would "ſuffer their People to give freely to the Monaſteries,

" naſteries, (as many do, eſpecially in their laſt " Wills) and this they do, becauſe they may " have the Money of the Realm more ready at " Hand, when they liſt to take it, which is ma- " ny Times done; the Friars parting freely with " ſome rather than loſe all.

" *John Baſilowitz* pretended to reſign the Crown " to the Prince of *Cazan*, and to retire for the " reſt of his Life to a Monaſtery: He then cau- " ſed this new King to call in all the Eccleſiaſti- " cal Charters, and to cancel them. Then pre- " tending to diſlike this Fact, and the Miſrule of " the new King, he reſumed the Scepter, poſ- " ſeſſed as he was of all the Church Lands, of " which he kept what he would, and gave new " Charters for the reſt. By this he wrung from " the Eccleſiaſticks a vaſt Sum, and yet hoped to " abate the ill Opinion of his Government, by " ſhewing a worſe.

" When they want to levy a new Tax, they " make a Shew of Want, as was done by Duke " *Theodore*, who, though left very rich by his " Father, yet ſold moſt of his Plate, and coined " the reſt, that he might ſeem in Neceſſity; " whereupon preſently came out a new Tax up- " on his People.

" They would ſometimes ſend their Meſſen- " gers into the Provinces to foreſtal and engroſs " the Commodities of the Country, taking them " at ſmall Prices, what they themſelves liſted, " and ſelling them again at exceſſive Prices to " their own Merchants, or to Strangers. If " they refuſe to buy them, then they force them " into it: The like they do, when any Commo- " dity thus engroſſed, Foreign or Native, ſuch

" as Cloth of Gold, Broad Cloth, and the like, " happens to decay, by lying upon Hand; it is " forced upon the Merchants at the Emperor's " Price, whether they will or no.

" Beſides the engroſſing of foreign Commo- " dities, and forcing them upon the Merchants, " they make a Monopoly for a Seaſon of all " ſuch Commodities as are paid the Prince for " Rent or Cuſtom; and this they do to enhance " the Price of them: Thus they monopolize " Furrs, Corn, Wood, *&c.* during all which " Time, none muſt ſell of the ſame Commodity, " till the Emperor's be all ſold.

" The above-mentioned *John Baſilowitz* ſent " into *Permia* (a Country of the poor *Samoides*) " for certain Loads of *Cedar*, though he well " knew that none grew there; and the Inhabi- " tants returned Anſwer, that they could find " none. Whereupon he taxed the Country in " Twelve Thouſand Rubles. ——— Again, he " ſent to the City of *Moſcow* to provide for him a " Meaſure full of Fleas, for a Medicine. They " anſwered, that the Thing was impoſſible; and " if they could get them, yet they could not " meaſure them becauſe of their leaping out. Up- " on which, he ſet a Mulct upon them of Seven " Thouſand Rubles.

" To theſe may be added, their Seizures and " Confiſcations upon ſuch as are under Diſplea- " ſure, and the Connivance at the Oppreſſions " and Extortions of the Governors of the Pro- " vinces, till their Time be expired, and then " turning all their wicked Plunder into the Em- " peror's Treaſury, but never a Penny back again

" to

" to the right Owner, how great or evident ſo-
" ever the Injury be.

" As to the People, they are of no Rank or
" Account, and eſteemed no better than Villains,
" and ſo they ſubſcribe themſelves in all their
" Writings to any of the Nobility, as they of the
" Nobility do to the Emperor: And indeed, no
" Bond Slaves are kept more in Awe and Sub-
" jection, than the common People are, by the
" Nobility, Officers, and Soldiers; ſo that when
" a poor *Mouſick* (one of the Commonalty) meets
" any of them upon the Highway, he muſt turn
" himſelf about, as not daring to look them in
" the Face, and fall down with his Head to the
" very Ground.

" And as to the Lands and Goods of theſe mi-
" ſerable People, they are ſo expoſed to the Rapine
" of the Nobility and Soldiers, beſides the Taxes,
" Cuſtoms, and Seizures, and other publick Ex-
" actions laid upon them by the Emperor, that
" they are utterly diſcouraged from following
" their Trades and Profeſſions; becauſe the more
" they have, the more Danger they are in, not
" only of their Goods, but even of their Lives:
" And if they happen to have any thing, they
" convey it into Monaſteries, or hide it in Woods
" or under Ground, as Men do when they are
" in Fear of a Foreign Invaſion. So that many
" Villages and Towns are intirely without Inha-
" bitants; and in the Way towards *Moſcow*, be-
" twixt *Volaghda* and *Yareſlave*, for about an Hun-
" dred *Engliſh* Miles, there are at leaſt Fifty Vil-
" lages, ſome half a Mile long, ſome a whole
" Mile long, that ſtand wholly deſolate, without
" a ſingle Inhabitant. The like Deſolation is

" ſeen

" ſeen in all other Places of the Realm, as I have
" been told by thoſe that travelled the Country.
" In every great Town the Emperor hath a
" Drinking-Houſe, which he rents out: Here the
" Labouring Man and Artificer many Times
" ſpends all from his Wife and Children. Some
" drink away all that they wear about them, to
" their very Shirts, and ſo walk naked; and all
" for the Honour of the Emperor. Nay, while
" they are thus drinking themſelves naked, and
" ſtarving their Families, no body muſt call them
" away, upon any Account, becauſe he would
" hinder the Emperor's Revenue.
" The capital Puniſhments upon the People are
" very cruel; but if Theft or Murder be com-
" mitted upon them by one of the Nobility, he
" is ſeldom puniſhed, or ſo much as called to Ac-
" count for it, becauſe the People are the Slaves
" of the Nobility: Or if theſe Crimes are com-
" mitted by a Gentleman Soldier, perhaps he
" may be impriſoned at the Emperor's Pleaſure,
" or perhaps fined —— and that is all.

I make this Quotation chiefly upon Memory, having only taken down ſome Hints when I read it; but I can aſſert it to be a juſt one, and almoſt wholly in the Doctor's Words.

I know much has been ſaid of the Improvements made by the preſent *Czar*, and of his many Projects in Favour of Arts and Trade: And it is very true, that he is a Prince of a very active and inquiſitive Genius. But though he has made himſelf a more powerful Prince than any of his Predeceſſors were, I do not find that the Numbers of his People are increaſed, or their general wretched Condition much mended. He has a vaſt Army con-

conſtantly on Foot, he keeps vaſt Numbers of his poor Subjects conſtantly employed in making Havens and Canals; great Taxes are raiſed, great and daily Waſte is made of his People, who are likewiſe miſerably oppreſſed by his *Boyars*, to whom he ſtill leaves the raiſing of Money and the Direction of Trade: So that the general Oppreſſion remains, Trade is deadened and diſtreſſed, the People burdened beyond Meaſure; ſudden and arbitrary Duties are laid upon Commodities imported; the old Way of Monopolies is continued; the State of the Exchange, and the Allay and uncertain Value of the current Coin, are as bad as they can be; Arts and Ingenuity are really diſcouraged, and thoſe who have Skill in any Art muſt conceal it, to avoid working for nothing; there are Grievances without Number, and like to be, for he who complains is certainly undone, and Petitions are anſwered with Stripes, ſometimes with Death itſelf. In ſhort, the Conditition of the *Ruſſian* People is much upon the ſame Foot as it was in Dr. *Fletcher*'s Time; and whoever doubts it, may find full Conviction from Capt. *Perry*'s State of *Ruſſia*, under the preſent *Czar*.

In *Poland*, nothing can be more miſerable than the Condition of the Peaſants, who are ſubject to the mere Mercy of the great Lords, as to Life and Death and Property; and muſt labour Five Days in the Week, nay ſometimes Six, for theſe Lords; and if they cannot ſubſiſt themſelves and their Families upon one Day's Labour in Seven, they muſt famiſh. The State of the other Northern Kingdoms is, with reſpect to the People, as wretched as any yet named: They have many Soldiers, endleſs Taxes, dreadful Poverty, few

People,

People, and gaudy Courts. It is indeed ſaid of ſome Arbitrary Princes in ſome Parts of *Europe*, that they are merciful to their Subjects, and do not uſe them barbarouſly; that is, they do not deliberately butcher them, but only take all that they have, and leave them to ſtarve peaceably upon the reſt: All the Riches of the Country are to be ſeen at Court, and the People are wretchedly poor. *Cantabit vacuus* —— A Countryman once complained to General *Kirk*, that his Soldiers had plundered him of all that he had in the World; *Thou art a happy Man*, ſays the General, *for then they will plunder thee no more.*

The woful Decay of People and Plenty in many States in *Italy* is ſo aſtoniſhing, that were it not obvious to every Eye that ſees it, and ſo well atteſted to thoſe who have not ſeen it, by thoſe who have, it would ſeem beyond all Belief. "When I came into the Pope's Territories at "*Pont Centino*, (ſays Dr. *Burnet*) there was a "rich Bottom all uncultivated, and not ſo much "as ſtocked with Cattle: But as I paſſed from "*Montifiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more "amazing; for a vaſt Champain Country lay "almoſt quite deſerted. And that wide Town, "which is of ſo great Compaſs, hath few In-"habitants, and thoſe looked poor and miſerable. "When I was within a Day's Journey of *Rome*, "I fancied the Neighbourhood of ſo great a "a City muſt mend the Matter, but I was much "diſappointed; for a Soil that was ſo rich, and "lay ſo ſweetly that it far exceeded any thing "I ever ſaw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants "in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the Tenth Part of "what it could bear. The Surprize this gave

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" me increaſed upon me, as I went out of *Rome* " on its other Side, chiefly all the Way to *Naples*, " and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia*; for that vaſt " and rich Champain Country which runs all " along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* " is a Hundred Miles long, and is in many Pla- " ces Twelve or Twenty Miles broad, is aban- " doned to ſuch a Degree, that as far as one's " Eye can carry one, there is often not ſo much " as a Houſe to be ſeen —— The Severity of the " Government hath driven away the Inhabitants; " and their being driven away hath reduced it to " ſuch a Paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to people " it." He adds, that in *Rome* itſelf, " it is not " poſſible for the People to live and pay Taxes; " which has driven, as it is believed, almoſt a " Fourth Part of the People out of *Rome* during " this Pontificate.

He tells us elſewhere, that the *Pope* buys in all the Corn of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony. " He buys " it at Five Crowns their Meaſure, and even that " is ſlowly and ill paid. So that there was Eight " Hundred Thouſand Crowns owing upon that " Score when I was at *Rome*. In ſelling this " out, the Meaſure is leſſened a Fifth Part, and " the Price of the Whole is doubled; ſo that " what was bought at Five Crowns is ſold out at " Twelve; and if the Bakers, who are obliged " to take a determined Quantity of Corn from " the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is im- " poſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome " Part of it back, the Chamber diſcounts to them " only the firſt Price of Five Crowns.

It is obſerved by another noble Author of our Country, that *Mario Chigi*, Brother to Pope *Alex-*

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ander the Seventh, by one ſordid Cheat upon the Sale of Corn, is ſaid within Eight Years to have deſtroyed above the Third Part of the People in the Eccleſiaſtical State; and that that Country, which was the Strength of the *Romans* in the *Carthaginian* Wars, ſuffered more by the Covetouſneſs and Fraud of that Villain, than by all the Defeats received from *Hannibal*.

The Country of *Ferrara* was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertile, were well cultivated; but ſince the Pope has got Poſſeſſion of it, it is almoſt depopulated; the Lands are nigh deſolate, and for want of People, it is like the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical State, unhealthy to live in. His Holineſs has reduced the Inhabitants from above an Hundred Thouſand, to about Twelve Thouſand. In the City itſelf, Graſs grows in the Streets, and moſt of the Houſes are empty.

The Great Duke's Dominions lie much in the ſame diſmal Solitude. When *Sienna* and *Piſa* were free States, they ſwarmed with People, and were rich in Trade and Territory: *Sienna* alone was computed to have had above half a Million of Subjects; but in a matter of a hundred and Fourſcore Years, during which Time it has been in the Poſſeſſion of his Highneſs of *Tuſcany*, they are ſunk below Twenty Thouſand, and theſe miſerably poor. The ſame is the abject Condition of *Piſa*, *Piſtoja*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*, and many other great Towns. *Florence*, his Capital particularly, which, in the Days of Liberty, could, by the Ringing of a Bell, bring together, of its own Citizens and the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Arno*, a Hundred and Thirty-five Thouſand well armed Men

Men in a few Hours Time, is now ſo poor and low, that it could not bring together Three tolerable Regiments in Thirteen Months.

The City of *Piſa* alone was reckoned, when it was free, to have had a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Inhabitants, all happy in Liberty and Commerce; and now they are about Ten Thouſand, without Liberty, and Commerce, and Bread. Formerly an Hundred of its Citizens could fit out an Hundred Gallies, and maintain them during a War, at their own Charge; and now the whole City could not furniſh out nor maintain one. Their ſtately Palaces are deſolate, like their Territory, or let out for Stables, or any other ſorry Uſe, at Three or Four Pounds a Year Rent. Their Streets are covered with Graſs; their Territory, by being waſte, is grown unwholſome, their few Remains of People are ſtarving. And that great State which the Great Duke could not maſter without the Armies of *Spain*, are not now able to contend with his infamous Crew of Taxgatherers. The People are famiſhed Slaves, their Houſes are Ruins, their Trade is gone, their Land unmanured, and yet their Taxes are not leſſened; and if there be any Plenty amongſt them, 'tis only Plenty of Beggars.

The ſame is the Condition of the *Milaneze*, and other Countries under the ſame ſort of Government; the People ſtarve in the beſt Soils: Whereas in *Switzerland*, and in the Territories of *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and the *Griſons*, they are numerous, and live happily in the worſt. "The People in "*France*, (ſays the Author of the Supplement to "Dr. *Burnet*'s Travels) eſpecially the Peaſants, "are very poor, and moſt of them reduced to "great

" great Want and Miſery; and yet *France* is an " extraordinary good Country. The People of " *Switzerland* (*which is a Country of Mountains*) " cannot be ſaid to be very rich, but there are " very few, even of the Peaſants, that are miſe- " rably poor. —— The moſt Part of them have " enough to live on. Every where in *France*, " even in the beſt Cities, there are Swarms of " Beggars; and yet ſcarce any to be ſeen through- " out all *Switzerland*. The Houſes of the Coun- " try People in *France* are extremely mean; and " in them no other Furniture is to be found but " poor naſty Beds, Straw Chairs, with Plates and " Diſhes of Wood and Earth. In *Switzerland*, " the Peaſants have their Houſes furniſhed with " good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other " convenient Houſhold-Stuffs; their Windows are " all of Glaſs, always kept mended and whole; " and their Linnen, both for Bedding and their " Tables, is very neat and white."

This was written above Thirty Years ago, when *France* was in a much better Condition than it has been ſince. The Glory of their late Grand Monarch coſt them much Miſery, and many Myriads of People. And yet even Thirty Years ago, their Miſeries were great and affecting! " As I came from *Paris* to *Lyons*, (ſays Dr. *Burnet*) " I was amazed to ſee ſo much Miſery as ap- " peared not only in Villages, but even in big " Towns, where all the Marks of an extreme " Poverty ſhewed themſelves, both in the Build- " ings, the Clothes, and almoſt in the Looks of " the Inhabitants: And a general diſpeopling in " all the Towns, was a very viſible Effect of the " Hardſhips under which they lay." What bleſ-

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ſed Circumſtances that great Kingdom is in now, Mr. *Law*, who is amongſt us, can beſt tell; though we all pretty well know. It is really a Science, and no eaſy one, to know the Names, Numbers, and Quality of their Taxes; which are ſo many, ſo various, and ſo heavy, that one of their own Writers calls them, *Inventions proper to impoveriſh the People, and to enrich the Dictionaries.* *Bulion*, Treaſurer to *Lewis* the Thirteenth, told his Maſter, that *his Subjects were too happy, they were not yet reduced to eat Graſs.* And the cruel Spirit and Politicks of that Miniſter were afterwards ſo well improved, that I am apt to think their preſent Felicity is no Part of their Misfortunes.

Such Inſtances ſhew what hopeful Methods ſuch Governments take to encreaſe People, Trade, and Riches.

As to the politer Arts, I own ſeveral of them have flouriſhed under ſome of the Popes themſelves, and ſome other Arbitrary Princes; ſuch as Painting, Architecture, Sculpture, and Muſick. But theſe Arts, and the Improvements of them, were ſo far from owing any Thing to that ſort of Government, that by Liberty alone, and the Privileges given to the Profeſſors of them, they came to excel in them; nor would they ever have excelled upon the common Foot and Condition of their other Subjects: So that to make them Excellent, they made them Free. And thus even Tyrants, the Enemies of Liberty, were, for their Furniture, Luxury, Pomp, Pleaſure, and Entertainment, forced to be beholden to Liberty; and for thoſe particular Purpoſes, they gave it to particular Men. But for the reſt of their Subjects, they

they were left by them in the Condition of Brutes, both in Point of Livelihood and Knowledge: for it is more Liberty than Shape, that makes the Difference; ſince Reaſon without Liberty proves little better, and ſometimes worſe than none. Servitude marrs all Genius, nor is either a Pen or a Pencil of any Uſe in a Hand that is manacled.

G *I am*, &c.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.